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The Tombs of Pompeii

Organization, Space, and Society

Virginia L. Campbell



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The Tombs of Pompeii

This book offers a comprehensive overview of the tombs of Pompeii and its immediate environs, examining the funerary culture of the population, delving into the importance of social class and self-representation, and developing a broad understanding of Pompeii's funerary epigraphy and business. The Pompeian corpus of evidence has heretofore been studied in a piecemeal fashion, not conducive to assessing trends and practices. Here, a holistic approach to the funerary monuments allows for the integration of data from five different *necropoleis* and analysis of greater accuracy and scope.

Author Virginia Campbell demonstrates that the funerary practices of Pompeii are, in some ways, unique to the population, moving away from the traditional approach to burial based on generalizations and studies of typology. She shows that while some trends in Roman burial culture can be seen as universal, each population, time, and place constructs its own approach to commemoration and display. Including an extensive catalogue of tomb data and images never before assembled or published, this collective approach reveals new insights into ancient commemoration. *The Tombs of Pompeii* is the first English-language book on Pompeian funerary rituals. It is also the first in any language to provide a complete survey of the tombs of Pompeii and the first to situate Pompeian differences within a wider Roman burial context.

Virginia Campbell is Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford, UK. She holds a Ph.D. in Classics from the University of Reading.

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Organization, Space,
and Society

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Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
BCAR	<i>Bulletino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CronPomp	<i>Cronache Pompeiane</i>
EEpigr	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
MAL	<i>Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei</i>
MDAI(R)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Rom</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française de Rome</i>
OP	<i>Opuscula Pompeiana</i>
NSA	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
RAAN	<i>Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli</i>
RSP	<i>Rivista di Studi Pompeiani</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TPSulp	<i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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1 Introduction

Pompeii is a place that evokes strong emotions and images, not only for those who study ancient history, but also for the average person who has seen a photo, viewed a documentary on television, or perhaps been lucky enough to visit the site.¹ The interest in the city, and the people who lived and died there, is not based solely on curiosity about the past but is also deeply rooted in the tragedy that befell the area in AD 79. If Vesuvius had not wrought such destruction, burying the city and its inhabitants for posterity, the name Pompeii would mean little to anyone in or out of academia, and it would not be one of the most visited places in Italy today. What most visitors take away from a tour of Pompeii is the enormity of the destruction caused by the volcano, the depth of the debris, the completeness with which an entire city was removed from the face of the earth, and the terrible, frightening image of the plaster casts of those people unfortunate enough to have remained behind when Vesuvius erupted. Whilst much attention is given to those who died in Pompeii as a result of the cataclysm, visitors show very little consideration for those who died in the town prior to the eruption, who were buried by their loved ones, and whose graves were tended regularly in accordance with tradition.²

As with any Roman city, the tombs of Pompeii radiate out from the walls along the roads (Toynbee 1971: 48; Ling 2005: 79; Cormack 2007: 585). Most modern tourists wander through the Via dei Sepolcri at Porta di Ercolano unaware of the nature of the structures they are seeing. The funerary monuments are interspersed with shops and houses, so for the untrained eye, it could be difficult to tell one from the other. Some are hidden behind walls, and others have deteriorated so much in the two hundred years since excavation that they consist of little more than large stone blocks. When a group comes across a *schola*, or bench tomb, the most commonly overheard remark is ‘Oh, good. A place to sit.’ That these benches are, ironically, someone else’s final resting place never occurs to them. In fact, scholars working in Pompeii have not always known what has been unearthed: the tomb of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, located adjacent to the city wall and containing a bench, was thought to be some sort of gatehouse or sentry box (De Carolis and Patricelli 2003: 113; Berry 2007: 97). This is, in part,

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based on a story that eighteenth-century excavators found an adult male skeleton within the niche of the tomb, the result of which was a rather popular and romantic notion that a sentry steadfastly remained at his post throughout the eruption of Vesuvius.³ This idea was immortalized by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton in *The Last Days of Pompeii*, in which some of the characters flee the eruption, running past the sentry who ‘stood, amidst the crashing elements: he had not received the permission to desert his station and escape’ (1834: Vol. III, 265–266). The story of the valiant sentry who did not abandon his post is contained not only in this nineteenth century historical novel but also in the painting *Faithful unto Death* by Sir Edward Poynter (1865), and was recounted by Mark Twain in his memoirs of a visit to the ruins of the city (1882: 302). This illustrates that it is understandable that the average visitor to Pompeii will fail on some level to identify the structures as funerary in nature. If someone does visit more than one area of burial whilst in Pompeii, further confusion is likely to be caused by the physical differences present in both individual tombs and in the overall appearance of the separate *necropoleis*. One might easily assume that these *necropoleis* were built by different members of the population or were in use at different times.

Approximately two hundred tombs and burial areas have been excavated and recorded over the last 250 years since the rediscovery of Pompeii. They run the gamut from the unmarked interments of the corpses of the destitute to the large, elaborate structures of the wealthy. The majority of these tombs can be classified as monumental; that is, each tomb consists of a defined, purpose-built structure specifically intended for commemoration in a way that is both physically and visually explicit. In contrast, non-monumental tombs are physically less intrusive on the landscape and not always clearly demarcated. Non-monumental tombs typical of Pompeii include undefined burial areas, sometimes containing *columellae* or buried amphorae (and, in some instances, both). They are important to the overall study of burial as an indication of the desire for all, even the poorest, members of society to actively engage in commemoration of the dead by whatever means available to them, but their form unfortunately renders them less visible in the archaeological record and somewhat difficult to assess.

The existing publications for Pompeian burial, specifically Kockel (1983) and D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), are quite detailed in their approaches to individual tombs or *necropoleis*, but a comprehensive study of all the known tombs associated with the city of Pompeii is lacking. No single study examines the extant structures in a comparative way. It is not possible to maximise the potential for gaining insight into the burial practices and how this reflects the social and cultural mores of a group of people without including all the data available, which, heretofore, has not been done for Pompeii.

This is what this book seeks to remedy, encompassing a new study of the tombs at Pompeii. It addresses aspects of organisation, space, and society

in relation to the entire corpus of tombs found in the immediate vicinity of Pompeii. We are fortunate in the size of the corpus at Pompeii: it is a large enough sample to yield worthwhile results yet small enough to be manageable. Its aim is to generate a clearer understanding of the following issues:

- Can we develop a detailed profile of each of the separate Pompeian burial areas in order to establish patterns? If there are patterns, are they social, economic, or legal?
- The general practices of Roman burial are well established, but how specifically is burial organised by a township? What are the administrative procedures behind funerary practice?
- How do the monuments reflect individual and/or group behaviour?
- Is there an identifiable tradition of burial or commemoration that is unique to the population of Pompeii?

The study of death and burial in the Roman world encompasses a variety of elements and therefore necessitates a multidisciplinary approach. Death, grief, and mourning have a significant role in any society, as do the practical issues of dealing with human remains. Although some trace of this survives archaeologically, the majority of evidence for cultural practices, rituals, and festivals and the uses of the tombs are primarily reported in the ancient literature and, to some extent, in the epitaphs themselves. This comes in a variety of forms including legal texts and wills, as well as historical sources, verse, and studies of the natural world. The literary evidence for aspects of death and dying are addressed in Chapter 2.

After exploring the attitudes towards the deceased and the process of disposing of, and memorialising the dead, the obvious starting point for study is the funerary monuments themselves. To complete any meaningful analysis of the standing structures, it was necessary to create a uniform data set from the burial evidence. Formatted into a catalogue, found in Appendix 1, these data incorporate elements from the disciplines of archaeology, art, architecture, and epigraphy. This information is then used to expand the analysis beyond individual tombs to look for larger patterns and characteristics in the local burial record. This is found in Chapter 3, which examines the evidence in terms of the layout and development of each necropolis group, the types of tombs built, and how they were decorated. Expanding the field of study to include an entire necropolis, which can then be compared to the other tomb groups associated with the city, requires the examination of spatial use and urban design, as well as issues such as accessibility and visibility.⁴ Further analysis includes the distribution of tomb types, both chronologically and by location in conjunction with known elements of status. Socio-economic factors also play a role in tomb type and placement, not only in the size and design of the tombs built but also in terms of competition and in the assertion of status that is on display amongst the dead. This chapter concludes with two brief case studies—one on altar tombs that

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illustrates the continuation of one tomb type throughout the Roman period and by members of different social strata and the second on a family group, the Veii, that built a series of monument types at different places and times as an exploration of the variance in burial habit present even amongst kin.

Chapter 4 makes use of the epigraphic evidence found in funerary contexts. The texts associated with the tombs are the key to identifying the social status of the deceased. They are examined both in terms of what is actually said and of how the information is presented. Also considered is how, as a body of evidence, this correlates to what is otherwise known regarding the Roman funerary epigraphic habit. Epigraphic evidence is also a significant feature of Chapter 5, which focuses on the organisation of burial space in the extramural environment. This combines archaeological evidence in the form of boundary-marking *cippi* with one specific element of epitaphs: the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*.' This phrase has heretofore been regarded as an indication that the tomb is a gift of the *ordo*, but in reality, it reflects the regulation of public land for private use.

Social status and its impact on funerary practices are the focus of Chapter 6, which draws on the various elements discussed in the previous chapters to provide an in-depth examination of how elements of variety in terms of tomb type, decoration, location, and epigraphic habit were manifested by various individuals. This includes looking at tombs of specific persons and family groups including elites, freedmen, patrons, *Augustales*, and citizens. Finally, the conclusion, Chapter 7, contains a summation of the material presented along with further thoughts on the development of the funerary record in Pompeii.

Cicero (*De Leg.* 2.59), when writing about the interdiction placed on mourning and funeral expense by the Twelve Tables, the legal code of early Rome, stated that '[t]hese provisions are praiseworthy and applicable in general both to the rich and the common people; for it is quite in accordance with nature that differences in wealth should cease with death.' The idea that death is the great leveller, affecting all people regardless of class, legal status or ethnic origin, though certainly a lovely sentiment of equality, could not be further from the reality that is revealed by the actual monuments dedicated to the dead. The following pages show this to be true, not just for the Roman world generally but also specifically for those dying in Pompeii.

NOTES

1. The popularity of Pompeii beyond a strictly academic interest is evident in the range of books published on the subject that are not strictly scholarly and are often marketed more towards a general audience, such as Beard (2008) and Butterworth and Laurence (2005). Recent years have also seen the publication of a number of coffee table books dominated by glossy images and little more than a brief overview of the city, even if they are written by scholars working

in the field. Cf. Berry (2007), Ranieri Panetta (2004), and Coarelli (2002). The huge success of the special exhibit and accompanying publication by the British Museum of *Life and Death in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Roberts 2013) is further evidence for the popularity of the area with the public.

2. In fact, the average modern-day tour of Pompeii, unless it includes the Villa of the Mysteries, never goes near any of the tombs.
3. Behlman (2007: 161–162) points out that Weber's entry in the daily excavation log recording the discovery of this tomb does not mention a skeleton. He believes, like Moorman (2003: 21–25), that this was a story that was invented by early *cicerones*, and actually based on a number of finds scattered across the city. Documented by Gell (1819: 94) and other nineteenth-century writers, it is no surprise that this quickly came to be accepted as truth.
4. Laurence (1994) was the first to use some aspects of access analysis in studying Pompeii, though this approach has subsequently been used by Grahame (2000), and spatial analysis continues to gain favour in other aspects of Pompeian research as by Bon and Jones (1997) and Ellis (2004). For a general introduction to spatial analysis, see Hillier and Hanson (1984), Le Febvre 1991, and, to a lesser extent, Rykwert (1976) and Raper (1977, 1979).

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2 Death in the Roman World

The study of death and burial in the Roman world generally, or in Pompeii more specifically, begins with literary and archaeological evidence. Ancient literature informs the beliefs and practices surrounding death, disposal, and remembrance, whereas the archaeological material demonstrates the reality of practice, on both macro and micro levels, from the Roman world as a whole, to a community such as Pompeii, or to a single individual.

The rituals, rules, and attitudes towards death, burial, and memory are common topics in ancient literature. This ranges across a variety of literary genres, and periods and includes both Greek and Latin authors. In addition to information pertaining to burial and tombs, there are texts that shed light on other aspects of grief, commemoration, the (re)use of tombs, and regulations for dealing with the dead that are particularly useful for exploring the funeral habits of the population of the Roman world. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the ancient literature in full,¹ an overview of selected literature provides a necessary cultural framework for the study of Pompeian tombs. Thus, the topics of particular relevance are (1) the rules and rituals surrounding death and burial and (2) grief, mourning, and commemoration.

The archaeological remains of tombs and burial have a substantial scholarly tradition, dating back centuries to the time Renaissance artists documented the tombs along the ancient highways on the outskirts of Rome. There are many publications examining a myriad of aspects of Roman burial as a result. Likewise, Pompeian tombs—specifically along the *Via di Sepolcri*—were some of the earliest structures excavated, first brought to light in the eighteenth century, and have been included both in general studies on Roman death and in more Pompeii-centric works.

This evidence—the ancient literature and previous studies of the archaeological material—are thus the context into which the present study must be orientated.

DEATH AND TOMBS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN SOURCES

Rules and Rituals for Death and Burial

The rituals and practices surrounding death and burial were both practical and superstitious in nature—the rapidly decaying body needed disposal and the family needed purification from the contamination of death. The rituals that took place as part of the funeral and were subsequently repeated during festivals of the dead were ‘aimed at freeing the living survivors of the pollution of death and modifying the status of the deceased in order for him/her to become the recipient of a funerary cult’ (Leptez and van Andringa 2009: 110). When a death occurred, relatives became *familia funesta*, and all other activity was suspended until the funerary process was complete (Servius *Aen.* 6.8; 11.2; Cic. *De Leg.* 2.22.55). Houses were marked with cypress branches as a warning of the pollution of death once a death was confirmed by closing the eyes and calling the name of the deceased three times (*conclamatio*; Servius *Aen.* 6.218; Šterbenc Erker 2011: 42; 47). The majority of tasks that took place in the home—laying out, washing, and anointing the body—were performed by women (Enn. *Ann.* 155; Verg. *Aen.* 4.83; 9.486–489; Ovid *Her.* 10.120; *Tr.* 4.344; Livy 4.40.3). Perfumes and incense were used to disguise the smell of decay, and pollen was applied to the face to disguise the pallor of death (Plaut. *Poen.* 63; Graham 2011: 30).

Polybius’s description of the funeral of a Republican aristocrat in *The Histories* (6.53–54) is the best source available for many aspects of the procedures followed for the funeral:

Whenever any illustrious man dies, he is carried at his funeral into the forum to the so-called rostra, sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture and more rarely reclined. Here with all the people standing round, a grown-up son, if he has one left who happens to be present, or if not some other relative mounts the rostra and discourses on the virtues and successful achievements of the dead. As a consequence the multitude and not only those who had a part in these achievements, but those also who had none, when the acts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people. Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous spot in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable fidelity both the features and complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies, they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a

purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots preceded by the fasces, axes, and other insignia by which the different magistrates are wont to be accompanied according to the respective dignity of the offices of state held by each during his life; and when they arrive at the rostra they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this? Besides, he who makes the oration over the man about to be buried, when he has finished speaking of him recounts the successes and exploits of the rest whose images are present, beginning from the most ancient. By this means, by this constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while at the same time the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people and a heritage for future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for the public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men.

Frequent reference to this passage by modern authors is a reflection of its usefulness (see North 1983: 169; Flower 1996; Patterson 2000: 264; Clarke 2003: 252). It is primarily from Polybius that we learn of the practice of making a death mask and displaying it in the home, of the *laudatio* given from the rostra, and the use of wax masks of ancestors worn by other men in the family (or actors), thought to bear the closest physical resemblance to the deceased person.² Basic elements of this record of the Roman funeral are found in other literary texts, reflecting some degree of reliability in Polybius's description. Propertius's poetic 'I,' addressing Cynthia about his wishes regarding his death, specifically requests 'not to let my funeral procession make its way with many masks,' nor does he want music, incense or other elements of an elite ritual (Propertius 2.13b.1–8).³ Suetonius, in recounting a story about Vespasian's funeral, helpfully includes not only the cost of the funeral (100,000 HS) but also the name of the actor hired to appear as the deceased emperor in the funeral procession (Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2). Lucian is another noancient author who describes in detail the processes of death from the preparation of the body to the burning and interment of the ashes (Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 9–12). Although this is an amusing satire on the rituals of Roman death by a Greek author, there is a suggestion of plausibility because of the similarity between Lucian's description of the preparation of the body and the funeral and other ancient texts.

The process of cremation and burial requires certain rituals to be performed in order for it to be recognised as a proper grave. Pliny explains

the adoption of cremation in Roman practice as a means to prevent the desecration of the corpses of dead soldiers buried on foreign soil in wartime (Pliny *HN* 7.54.187). Cicero describes in some detail the rites necessary as part of burial, such as the killing of a sow and the actual casting of the earth upon the ashes (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.56–57). The casting of the earth over the remains appears frequently in ancient literature (Horace *Odes* 1.28.1–3; 1.28.35–36). Other requisite rituals performed at the time of burial included the *suffitio*, a rite of purification that was undertaken by the family. Varro discusses the rites of burial, *os resectum*, and *suffitio*, stating that a house remains in mourning until the bone kept out for purification is covered with earth (Varro *Ling.* 5. 23; Graham 2009; Šterbenc Erker 2011: 53). The final acts undertaken by the family are funerary feasts, both on the day of the funeral and nine days later (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.55; Tac. *Ann.* 6.5; Toynbee 1971: 50–51). Failure to carry out these rituals was believed to have dire consequences and was often the basis for tales of ghosts and haunting (Pliny *Ep.* 7.27). The ghost of Caligula was reported to haunt the gardens of the Lamian family where his partially cremated remains were hastily buried. Once his sisters returned from exile, they disinterred his remains and performed a proper cremation and burial elsewhere, thus putting an end to the stories of a restless spirit (Suet. *Calig.* 69).

Toynbee claimed that Roman funerary practices were influenced by two beliefs: first, that death brought pollution and, therefore, that survivors needed to perform acts of purification and expiation and, second, that unburied corpses could harm the fate of the soul. Because of these fears, ensuring proper burial and purification rites were carried out was of utmost concern to the Romans and was regulated by law (Toynbee 1971: 43). Legal sources, therefore, also provide insight into funerary practices and monuments. An inscription found in Puteoli, dated to the first century AD, contains regulations pertaining to funerals (AE 1971: 88). It seems to have been displayed in the premises of the local undertakers beyond the city walls (Bodel 2004). This location relates to a law passed in 38 BC that prevented the burning of bodies within two miles of a city, presumably as a reaction to the threat of fire, and echoes the earlier prohibition in the Twelve Tables of burying or burning a dead man within the city (Cassius Dio 48.13.3; Table X.1). Plutarch, in explaining that women are the hotter of the sexes, uses for evidence that for every ten male corpses, a woman's body was added to the funeral pyre to ensure that it burned better (Plut. *Mor.* 651B). Dealing with the dead at night, but also in an extramural environment is reiterated by Martial, who wrote of slaves outside the city walls at night carrying a corpse that must be 'of a low degree like a thousand that the pauper's pyre receives,' probably because it is unaccompanied by mourners or a proper funeral procession (Mart. *Epigrams* 8.75).

Cicero wrote in depth about the laws pertaining to burial, often repeating archaic laws from the Twelve Tables regarding the location of burial outside of the city and the expenditure permissible for a funeral (Cic. *De*

Leg. 2.58–66). The Twelve Tables limited expense to ‘three veils, one small purple tunic, and ten flute players’⁴ and forbade women from excessive displays of grief, stating that ‘[w]omen must not tear cheeks or hold chorus of ‘Alas!’ on account of funeral’ (Table X.3; X.4). That Lucian described this sort of behaviour going on centuries later demonstrates that these laws were not always adhered to strictly.

Because ancient wills have rarely survived antiquity, it is beneficial that some tomb inscriptions included full copies of the deceased’s testament, whereas others specified to whom the monument could or could not pass (Johnston 1988; Champlin 1989; 1991). These legal concerns were clearly paramount to Romans, as Tacitus has recorded that during times of political unrest there was a preference for committing suicide if one feared the possibility of execution for crimes against the state because taking one’s own life ensured a proper burial and the enactment of one’s will, whereas execution did not (*Tac. Ann.* 6.29).

After burial, ritual offerings were made annually at the grave on both the birthday and death day. The *Rosalia*, held in May and June, often included decorating graves with roses. Ovid’s *Fasti* informs us of other festivals of the dead. *Parentalia*, held in February, honoured the family and ancestors generally, but the last day of the festival, *Feralia*,⁵ required offerings at the tomb such as ‘a tile wreathed with votive garlands, a sprinkling of corn, a few grains of salt, bread soaked in wine, and some loose violets,’ to be left at the grave to appease the spirits (Ovid *Fasti* 2.533–546). The epitaph for Publius Manlius Surus, found in Padua, leaves instructions for an annual scattering of roses and a feast at his tomb (*CIL* V 215). Evidence found in Pompeii supports the deposition of ritual offerings of food, perfumes, and oils and a variety of plant species left for the spirits of the dead (Lepetz and van Andringa 2009: 123–129; van Andringa et al. 2013). The *Lemuria*, which took place in May, was the other primary festival of the dead. This, however, focused on the kinless, hungry ghosts, and other dangerous spirits that might disturb the living. Rites included the cleansing of the family home and the scattering of black beans⁶ to help remove the ghost from the house (Ovid *Fasti* 5.419–492).

Grief, Mourning, and Commemoration

Other authors focus more on a metaphysical approach to death, considering the awareness of the mind and body during the moments of transition from life to death. Lucretius writes at length about death, the body, and the soul, the crux of which is the idea that something that does not exist cannot feel, so in death there is nothing to fear as one cannot feel anything when one no longer exists (Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 3.830–890, especially 862–869). Pliny gives a similar opinion, stating that ‘neither body nor mind possess any sensation after death,’ arguing that ideas of the immortality of the soul are ‘fictions of childish absurdity’ as a result of ‘a mortality

greedy for life unceasing' (Pliny *HN* 7.55.188–190). The desire for a good death—like Augustus, who died at an advanced age, without pain, in his father's bed, surrounded by his family, and with enough time to compose his final words—was of great concern, as the way someone died was important to how he or she was remembered (Noy 2011: 1–3). This was, in part, wrapped up in the way one's name was viewed, because it was one's name that ensured future memory (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.31; Pliny *HN* 2.154). Pliny warns about the impending signs of an approaching death and remarkable or sudden deaths, as well as providing odd tales of the dead coming back to life, including one person who did so whilst on the funeral pyre (Pliny *HN* 7.51.171–172; 7.53.180–186; 7.52.173–179).

Expressions of emotionality revolving around the grief and sense of loss inherent in death are common in ancient poetic and philosophical discourse. The universal sense of loss at the death of a loved one not only is apparent from the literature but also finds its way into many epitaphs. In one inscription from the first century AD found in Rome, for example, a husband laments the passing of his wife, claiming that '[n]othing is so miserable as to lose your whole life, and yet to go on living' (*CIL* VI 15546). He further claims that he will mourn forever, despite the fact that it was not honourable for men to mourn (Sen. *Ep.* 63.13). Quintilian also describes his insurmountable grief upon surviving his wife and two sons (Quint. VI *Pro.*). Numerous poets describe lamenting for the dead and other aspects of commemoration. Ovid, for example, expressed distress at the prospect of dying in exile, whereas Lucan described the effects of the civil war on the mothers left without sons, and Vergil wrote in the *Aeneid* of the preparations of the body as well as the funeral for Misenus (Ovid *Tristia* 3.3.37–46; Lucan *Civil War* 2.21–28; Vergil *Aeneid* 6.218–220). Lucian echoes the earlier work of Lucan (*Civil War* 2.21–28) in describing the wild displays of grief:

Next come cries of distress, wailing of women, tears on all sides, beaten breasts, torn hair, and bloody cheeks. Perhaps, too, clothing is rent and dust sprinkled on the head, and the living are in a plight more pitiable than the dead; for they roll on the ground repeatedly and dash their heads against the floor, while he, all serene and handsome and elaborately decked with wreaths, lies in lofty, exalted state, bedizened as for a pageant.

(Dial. Mort. 9–12)

Petronius demonstrated one could ensure a good mourning by having a large number of recently manumitted slaves in the funeral procession (*Satyr.* 42). Other ancient writers tend to focus on the individual reactions to death (see Edwards 2007). This sometimes came in the form of a *consolatio*, a letter written to address the grief of another over the loss of a loved one. This becomes a dedicated literary genre, with *consolatio* written for publication, not solely for the eyes of the grieving party. Examples from Seneca, Cicero,

Pliny the Younger, and Plutarch, amongst others, survive antiquity.⁷ Wilcox argues that letters written to assuage grief may not have been an expression of commiseration on a personal level of close friendship but, rather, were written out of obligation to one's political and business associates.⁸ Indeed, the *consolationes* exchanged by Cicero and a number of his associates, including Brutus, read more like remonstrations for demonstrating unmanly, un-Roman behaviour than the personal condolences offered to a friend (see Cic. *Ad Fam.* 187; 225; 251; *Ad Brut.* 18; *Ad Att.* 250; 251; 328). The difference is even more pronounced when these letters are compared to those written in a more personal style, such as Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he very obviously grieves for his daughter Tullia (Cic. *Ad Att.* 254; 257; 262; 274–276; Shackleton Bailey 1971: 204–210).

Finally, as is typical when discussing the dead, other ancient texts describe nefarious activities, where supernatural and spooky happenings are imagined taking place in a funerary context. Tombs were a popular setting for tales of witches, who were known to lure the spirit from the tomb and the 'bony frame' from the funeral pyre (Tib. 1.11.41–48). A witch is described as torturing her victim with items stolen from the tomb or as stealing burning bones from the funeral pyre and reversing the funeral procession when reanimating the dead from their tombs (Hor. *Epod.* 5.15–24; Lucan *Civil War* 6.510–830). Petronius recounts an eerie tale of a man transformed into a werewolf that takes place in the necropolis on the outskirts of a city (Petron. *Satyr.* 62). Besides the whores of Martial's *Epigrams* who frequently conduct business in tombs, thieves also took advantage of these structures, using the coffin inside a tomb to conceal stolen gold and silver (Mart. *Epigrams* 1.34; 3.93; Apul. *Met.* 4.18).

THE STUDY OF ROMAN TOMBS

Modern studies of Roman funerals and burial usually fall into two categories: they focus either on the funeral ritual itself, including treatment of the body and the aftermath of mourning and continued observance of dedicatory obligations at the gravesite, or on the physical structure and decoration of the tomb. These studies tend to comprise either fairly general approaches to Roman burial (Toynbee 1971; von Hesberg 1992; 1994; Carroll 2006) or focus on a specific aspect of the process of death, burial, and mourning (Flower 1996; Edwards 2007; Graham 2009). This sometimes includes a narrowed approach, examining the burial practices of a set group of people, such as the emperors, freedmen, or the very poor (Davies 2000; Feraudi-Gruénais 2001; Graham 2006a; 2006b; Hackworth-Petersen 2006), or a single tomb or monument type (Fellmann 1957; Schwarz 2002; Tupman 2005). All these studies have an intended purpose, whether general or specific, which result in works that cannot possibly address every aspect of burial and tomb construction for any given population or time period. For

example, Hackworth Petersen's work on the art of freedmen is an extensive and well-researched study that uses a fair amount of evidence from Pompeii, but because she only looks at freedmen, she is unable to show how these tombs fit into the local burial record as a whole. Some of the general studies particularly tend to repeat the same sources and information, using the same handful of monuments as examples. To some extent, this is understandable because it is often the case that the examples used are of exceptional size or have a unique feature that makes them particularly interesting. This is also a reflection of the level of preservation and/or the amount of published material available for a specific tomb or necropolis. These offer a satisfactory overview of burial across the Empire and numerous centuries but do not always sufficiently allow for different social or cultural practices beneath the umbrella of what is 'Roman.' In examining a place such as Pompeii, which has a long and multicultural history, this general sort of approach does not adequately address all of the evidence that is available.

Jocelyn Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971) set the standard for a modern typology of Roman burial monuments, insofar as most subsequent studies have based the descriptions and classifications of tombs on her seminal work.⁹ Von Hesberg's 1992 publication of *Römische Grabbauten*¹⁰ (and the 1994 Italian version *Monumenta: i sepolcri romani e la loro architettura*) provided a much-needed update on the subject, with far greater detail pertaining to the actual structures of burial but unfortunately post-dates the two major studies of Pompeian tombs by nearly ten years. As such, the studies, by Kockel (1983) and by D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983; 1987), rely solely on Toynbee's typology in their publications on Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera, respectively.

The existing typology for the different styles of monuments, as developed by Toynbee, and more recently by von Hesberg, whilst useful in providing a basic framework and vocabulary for discussing the tombs, lacks a certain applicability in dealing with the variety of the structures found in Pompeii (Toynbee 1971; von Hesberg 1992; 1994). This is because one of the biggest problems in dealing with the Pompeian monuments is that the tomb types are very rarely exactly what one expects based on the typologies found in most general studies. That is, very few extant structures actually fit into the neat classifications of a standardised typology. For example, the *tumulus* tomb, an archaic Italic monument, is round with stone walls surmounted by earth and plantings. It is well attested throughout the Roman world: some of the better-known examples are the Mausoleum of Augustus at Rome and the Tomb of Lucius Munatius Plancus at Gaeta (Fellmann 1957; Zanker 1988; Schwarz 2002). But what happens to the classification if this tomb is placed on a square base or a podium? Does the structure still qualify as a *tumulus* tomb, or has it been transformed into a podium tomb, typically defined as a square tower on a square base? The tomb of Veia Barchilla (PNC33 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3ES) at Porta di Nocera is such a tomb: a round structure, surmounted by earth (*tumulus*), on a square base

(podium). Little alterations to the design of a tomb, such as placing it on a base, can have a dramatic effect on a straightforward classification, as the change ensures that it sits, rather ambiguously, between two or more distinct categories.¹¹

Although the existing typologies are useful as a baseline for describing fundamental architectural elements, and even for the comparison of two or more structures, as shown earlier, they cannot be used exclusively when discussing funerary monuments. The most important aspect to keep in mind when studying Roman tombs is the primary role played by individual choice. Although the majority of the population adhered to certain fashions, a slight alteration in design or decoration is more likely to be a reflection of the preference of the individual responsible for construction and is not necessarily representative of a new or widespread trend. In the case of Veia Barchilla, the base may simply have been a means to elevate her tomb a little bit higher, to make it that much more visible to those passing through the necropolis.

As the funerary record of any civilization is a reflection of the population itself, it would be impossible to study the tombs of the Roman world without also considering a number of social and economic factors. Tombs, like any other building project in the Roman world, became a means of demonstrating a person's wealth, power, and social prestige. In many respects, this was enhanced by the monumentality of funerary structures, with greater emphasis on the secondary purpose of representation and memory and less importance on the original function of burial. The emperor Augustus, for example, broke the mould: he constructed a tomb so grossly oversized and in such a conspicuous site that he was able to ensure no one else could ever surpass it.¹² Building an excessively large tomb not only demonstrated that one possessed the wherewithal to finance such a construction, but also implied by sheer size that the individual (or family) was important enough to warrant such a monument. A limit on expenditure for both tombs and funerals was originally imposed by the Twelve Tables in the fifth century BC (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.59; 2.62; Toynbee 1971: 48; Engels 1998: 83, 165, 170). Nevertheless, by the years of the later Republic, a culture of competition beyond reason had developed, and new restrictions on funerary spending were established, although not always enforced.¹³ In the early years of the Empire the funerary habit once again changed; competition, at least amongst the elite at Rome, dwindled as members of the imperial family asserted themselves as the citizens of highest standing. This eventually had the effect of turning the focus of lavish monuments inwards: interior decoration of tombs became more important than size and external decorative elements.¹⁴ These new trends were slow to trickle out of Rome, however, and in smaller country towns such as Pompeii, competition in terms of size, visibility, and expenditure in tomb construction is rife throughout the last years of the town. This reflects not only the most basic factor of financial means but also the desire by various types of people to assert their place (and that of their heirs) in the social hierarchy of the town. Who is

commissioning a monumental tomb must be taken into account as a major component of how, where, and why it is constructed. The question of who can only be answered with the information contained in the tomb's inscription. This can reveal elements of status, origin, wealth, and additional familial ties. Without an inscription there can be analysis of design, chronology in relation to other tombs or the necropolis as a whole, and the amount of overall expenditure based on size or materials, but determining anything about the person responsible for construction in terms of social or legal status becomes impossible. There are, for example, three *aedicula* tombs located in the necropolis at Porta di Nocera that are very similar in size, design, and construction materials. All three contain statues of a combination of women and men in the *aediculae*. Two possess inscriptions and one does not, demonstrating that without the epigraphic evidence, the status of the deceased cannot be determined. PNc41, of a late Republican date, belongs to a Roman citizen. PNc50 was occupied by a freedman of the Julio-Claudian period, whereas PNc39, dated to the late Republican/early Augustan period, has no epitaph, and the inhabitants' status is completely unknown. The type and the design of the tomb, with particular attention to any antecedents in the burial record, Roman or otherwise, can demonstrate the elements of competition and imitation that may have existed amongst those who could afford to assert their own status in such an expensive and obvious manner.

THE STUDY OF POMPEIAN TOMBS

Approximately two hundred tombs and burials have been discovered in the immediate vicinity of Pompeii, scattered on the outskirts of the city gates (Figure 2.1),¹⁵ with the majority concentrated in large *necropoleis* beyond the gates now known as Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera. These two *necropoleis*¹⁶ are remarkably disparate in appearance, yet the inconsistencies of design cannot be explained in simple terms or by one single characteristic. The other tomb groupings, found outside Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola and Porta di Stabia, are fewer in number but also create a contrasting visual impact when compared to the other surviving structures. At Porta di Ercolano, the Italian sun reflects off the many tombs sheathed in marble or travertine, creating the visual image of the bright, white, classical Roman landscape that is the expectation of the average person. The visual landscape differs greatly in the necropolis beyond Porta di Nocera, where most tombs are built of cement, tufa, or brick, and many are still covered with the peeling remains of painted plaster that have faded to a mottled grey with time. The colours are dull, and as a result there is no dazzling light, and no immediate recognition of what an observer might expect of a Roman tomb found here.¹⁷ The tombs, in fact, vary considerably in the material from which they are constructed. Further dissimilarities are also found in the size, design, and decoration of the monuments. This is often purely a result of

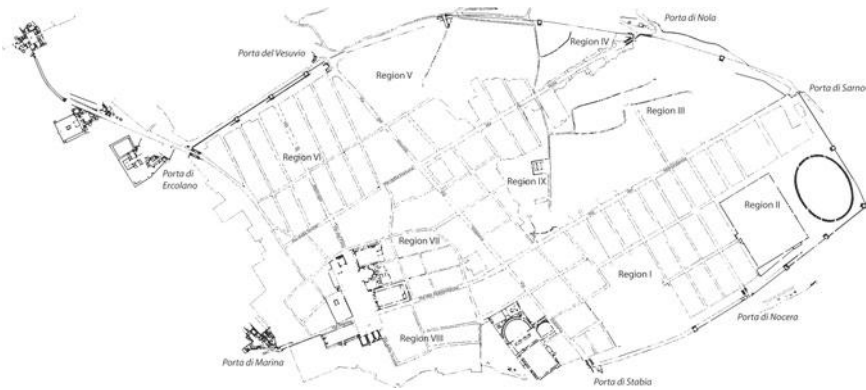


Figure 2.1 Map of Pompeii with city gates labelled

economics.¹⁸ It was far less expensive to build a large tomb out of lava stone or brick and to cover it with plaster that would subsequently be painted in rich colour than to construct a modestly sized one out of marble or travertine (Duncan-Jones 1974; Daniels-Dwyer 2000). This difference in size creates another distinction: although the tombs at Porta di Nocera are far more monumental in terms of sheer size, those at Porta di Ercolano are likely to have been more expensive because of the materials used for construction. It is surely no coincidence that some of the largest tombs found in Pompeii are made from the least expensive fabrics. One of the other primary differences between the *necropoleis* at Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera is found in the layout. The tombs of Porta di Ercolano follow the road leaving the city, with tombs built amongst the shops, bars, and suburban houses that line the street.¹⁹ One tomb of a late first century AD date directly abuts the city wall, demonstrating not only the intense competition for a prominent location, but also the limited space available in the immediate suburban area (PE1; Kockel 1983: 47–51, Taf. 4).²⁰

The necropolis at Porta di Nocera is situated nearly thirty metres from the city gate,²¹ running parallel to the city walls. This is an unusual distance, particularly as the most sought after location was typically closest to the city walls, and as such this area differs from the other tomb groups around the city.²² The large amount of open space between the city walls and the tombs at Porta di Nocera cannot be explained by any archaeological or topographical evidence. Furthermore, none of the other groups of tombs found at Pompeii is arranged in this way because the monuments are located in greater proximity to the city itself. Those at Porta del Vesuvio and Porta di Nola are situated within thirty metres of the wall whereas those at Porta di Stabia start adjacent to the gate itself and move away from the city along the main road. The tombs outside Porta di Nocera and Porta di Nola follow a ring road around the city, often mistakenly referred to as a pomerial road.²³ Unlike the tombs at Porta di Ercolano, those at Porta di Nocera are

located in an environment completely dedicated to the world of the dead: there are no shops, bars, or suburban villas present. The tombs at the other three gates also exist in a separate, defined area of funerary construction. Although they interact with the gates in the city walls, these tombs are not always aligned directly with the road nor are they near other types of structures used by the living. In fact, the monuments at Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, and Porta di Stabia are situated on what is deemed public land, and their design may reflect this location.

Throughout the same period, all the *necropoleis* were utilized by the population of Pompeii. The extant monumental tombs date from the late first century BC until the time of the city's destruction in AD 79, covering a period of roughly 130 years.²⁴ That a particular type of tomb may be in fashion at a specific time is clearly apparent in the Roman burial record;²⁵ however, a large number of the tombs at Pompeii actually date to a relatively short period. The evidence provided by other Roman *necropoleis* in use at the same time indicates that variations in design do not usually appear as quickly as the variety found in Pompeii would suggest.²⁶ One possible explanation for the evident variety could be intense competition that may have continued throughout the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods when the majority of tombs are being constructed (Mouritsen 2005; Leptez and van Andringa 2009: 113). This period sees the largest single growth spurt in the *necropoleis* of Pompeii and is when many of the larger tombs were constructed (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). If time is not a major component in the variation found in the burial record, then perhaps the answer lies with the people of Pompeii.

The population of Pompeii is historically considered to have been Roman at the time of the city's demise. The settlement's history, however, is long and complicated: at a minimum, five separate cultural groups, including the Romans, are thought to have contributed to the town's development during its six hundred years of existence. There are archaeological remains in Pompeii for Greeks, Etruscans, Samnites, and an unnamed indigenous Italic population in addition to the Romans.²⁷ Evidence for the influence of non-Roman groups has been well attested; numerous Greek and Etruscan archaic artefacts have been recovered across the city.²⁸ The Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum and the Temple of Apollo, for example, both contain sixth-century-BC votive offerings and terracotta architectural features of Greek origin (Dobbins 1994; De Waele 1997; Carroll and Godden 2000; Berry 2007: 72; Carafa 2007: 63; De Caro 2007). Further evidence of Italic/Samnite influence can be seen from the presence of Oscan inscriptions in Pompeii and allegedly the influence of an Oscan substrate on surviving Latin inscriptions (Castrén [1975] 1983: 44–45; Frederiksen 1984: 143; Cooley 2002; Crawford 2012).²⁹ Because of the discernible presence of non-Roman groups in the city, aspects of other cultures should also be considered as a factor in the burial practices. After the conclusion of the Social War in the first century BC, Pompeii, like the other rebellious towns of Campania,

came under Roman domination and was chartered as a colony in 80 BC.³⁰ With colonization came the settlement of an estimated two thousand veterans from Sulla's army, which changed the composition of Pompeii further.

As anywhere else, the people of Pompeii were divided into a number of social and economic groups. The social and economic strata that classified the population into groups are well attested in the Roman world, and archaeological evidence indicates the same practices were in play at Pompeii (see Ross Taylor 1961; Treggiari 1969; 1996; Packer 1975; Ostrow 1985; Jongman 1988; Joshel 1992; Hope 1994; Mouritsen 1997; 2001; 2005; Dixon 2001; Laird 2002; Lintott 2002; Hackworth Petersen 2006). The earliest years of Pompeii's existence as a Roman colony were marked by a further political, economic, and, most likely, social divide between the native population and veteran soldiers. Pompeii was the only colony of Sullan veterans that saw a successful integration of the newcomers and native population.³¹ Nonetheless, there is evidence of some initial discord that kept the indigenous Pompeians and colonists separated for some time.³²

Whilst some of the classifications of disparate groups were based solely on wealth, others were determined by legal status, such as that of a freedman or a slave. The juxtaposition of economic and legal status complicates matters further, because even an extremely wealthy individual who was a freed slave could not necessarily achieve the same rank or status as a free-born citizen of lower economic standing. The idea that the combined factors of rank, status, and wealth are manifested in the burial record is widely accepted, so this, too, must be considered as an important influence on the type of funerary monument built, and possibly even its location within the city's *necropoleis*. The idea of a discernible 'freedman art' is currently enduring a rise in popularity as a distinct discipline within the study of Roman art. Mouritsen has stated that 'Roman freedmen did not represent a class; they were slaves who had been individually freed by their masters, and whose status could not be passed on' (2004: 288). If, following Mouritsen's argument, freedmen are in actuality a transient group which only lasts one generation and are therefore do not constitute a class but instead possess a status as determined by legal classifications, then they should subsequently not be qualified by their freedman moniker alone. For example, a freedman of great wealth is more likely to associate himself with a citizen of equal economic status than with a freedman of little means. Tomb construction most certainly reflects this. Although there are some aspects of self-aggrandisement that are more likely to be adopted by freedmen, there is little to distinguish one grand tomb from another in terms of ownership without the accompanying information provided by the inscription. The inscription, where extant, is the best source for information as to the identity of the deceased in terms of both family connections and what place he or she occupied within Pompeian society. The epitaph can also provide clues as to the potential economic power of an individual responsible for a monument by indicating some element related to status. Other decorative elements might

provide an indication of the origin of income, civic acts of munificence, or honours awarded to the deceased.³³

Most of the tombs found around Pompeii are still visible, although a few were reburied immediately after excavation. In addition to tombs in the *necropoleis* of varying size that border the city gates, there are additional tombs that have been found in suburban areas associated with villas, some of which have been linked to individuals known at Pompeii (Della Corte 1916; De Spagnolis Conticello 1993–1994; Camodeca 2004).³⁴ The excavation of the tombs of Pompeii has occurred over the course of more than two hundred years, which in and of itself has created a number of problems. The necropolis at Porta di Ercolano was the first burial area to be fully excavated, beginning not long after the initial rediscovery of Pompeii in the eighteenth century.³⁵ Documentation of the work that was carried out in this very early excavation period is dreadfully incomplete, when it exists at all. To add to the haphazard nature of this initial endeavour, some grave goods or decorative sculptures must have been forever ‘lost’ to treasure hunters (including some of the royal variety).³⁶ The amount of time that has passed since the excavation of Porta di Ercolano has led to the greatest deterioration amongst all the known tombs, resulting in the loss of the standing monuments as well as painting, decoration, and inscriptions.³⁷ The original nature of quite a few of the tombs located at Porta di Ercolano is known only from drawings made at the time of excavation, whilst the detail of the monuments has been lost entirely to the degradation caused by exposure to the elements.³⁸ Three of the other small groups of tombs were excavated over a period of years at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century: Porta di Stabia in 1889 and Porta di Nola and Porta del Vesuvio in 1907. Although those at Porta del Vesuvio and Porta di Nola remain in relatively good condition considering how they were found, those at Porta di Stabia were largely reclaimed by nature until very recently.³⁹ The so-called Fondo Pacifico tombs, farther along the road from Porta di Nocera, were originally excavated in the 1880s. These early excavations were conducted by a local man who owned the land on which they were situated. The tombs were described by a visitor of the time as being of an ‘Egyptian character,’ ‘stucco tombs ornamented with rough hewn stone statues of an extremely archaic nature’ that were ‘not at all like those more famous ones’ located on the road leading to Herculaneum (Gusman 1900: 33). There are three publications from the nineteenth century that record these tombs, including short notes in the journal *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (NSA; Sogliano 1886; 1887a; 1887b), and two publications by Mau (1888; 1908). As these tombs were subsequently reburied, they have never been properly documented by modern archaeologists or ancient historians.⁴⁰ The large group of tombs at Porta di Nocera is the most recently excavated and best preserved of those found at Pompeii. They were excavated originally in the 1950s under the direction of Maiuri, with further work carried out in the 1980s by D’Ambrosio and De Caro. The extensive excavation work carried

out in the 1950s was not fully published at the time. There is only one entry in NSA, which contains information on the *graffiti* found on the tombs, but it does not give any detail about the monuments themselves (Della Corte 1958: 138–159). The publication of detailed information pertaining to this necropolis did not become available until the 1980s at which time D'Ambrosio and De Caro presented, in a number of publications, a comprehensive study of the standing structures found beyond Porta di Nocera (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983; 1987).⁴¹ The superior state of preservation here has allowed scholars to carry out certain types of statistical analysis using the data contained in the inscriptions, but this has not been possible for the tombs of other locations.⁴²

About half the Pompeian tombs uncovered have some evidence of an inscription, whilst many of the tombs used by family groups actually contain multiple inscriptions. These provide further information, and are sometimes very detailed, whilst at other times they furnish only a name. Owing to the preservation of the town and so many of its other inscriptions, including electoral notices, particular tombs can be linked to other individuals or family groups and their houses or other buildings. Because so many of the inscriptions that have survived antiquity are funerary in nature, there is also a vast amount of information that can be gained from epitaphs in other parts of the Roman world and this provides a broader context for what is found in Pompeii.

The existing scholarship on Pompeian *necropoleis* has primarily concentrated on individual areas or on single tombs. The two most extensive publications examine, respectively, the *necropoleis* at Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983; 1987; Kockel 1983). With the sole exception of Porta di Nola, the small groups of tombs located beyond the other three gates of the city have not been studied in their entirety, and only a few of the individual tombs have been published (De Caro 1979; De Franciscis 1976; Mols and Moormann 1993–1994; 1995). Some tombs are only published in their original excavation reports (Sogliano 1890; 1913; Spano 1910a; 1910b; Della Corte 1911; D'Ambrosio 2001–2002; 2003).⁴³ A further issue is that a large number of the inscriptions, especially from many of the tombs excavated in the twentieth century, have not yet been incorporated into the major epigraphic corpora. Some are recorded in *Emphemeris Epigraphica* (*EEpigr*) and *L'Année épigraphique* (*AE*), but only those from Porta di Ercolano and two Republican inscriptions from Porta di Nocera appear in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*). More general studies of Roman burial have discussed some of the tombs at Pompeii, either as a reflection of overall trends and practices throughout Italy or the Empire or as a discussion of the habits of one particular group, such as freedmen or -women (Toynbee 1971; Woods 1991; von Hesberg 1992; 1994; Savunen 1997; Carroll 2006; Hackworth-Petersen 2006). In addition, these studies tend to focus on the same few tombs, publishing and analysing the same evidence repeatedly.⁴⁴

NOTES

1. For a broader range of ancient texts relating to death and burial, see Hope (2007) and Erasmo (2008).
2. Quintilian (6.1.40) and Pliny mention the use of wax masks in funeral processions. Pliny's remarks compare wax masks to other types of portraiture (HN 35.6), and he says that by his time, the traditional wax masks have been replaced by *imagines clipeatae* (HN 35.2.6; Winkes 1979). Specifically on the use of *imagines* see Flower (1996: 91–92, 99) and Pollini (2007); see Kierdorf 1980 on the funeral oration itself.
3. One does have to be cautious taking the lyrical nature of love elegy at face value, but the importance here is in the naming of elements of a typical funeral.
4. Other prohibitions outlined in Table X.6 included 'no costly sprinkling . . . no long garlands . . . no incense boxes.'
5. See Varro *Ling.* 6.13 on the etymology of the word *Feralia*, related to both the dead (*inferi*) and the bearing (*ferre*) of viands to the tomb as an offering to the deceased ancestors.
6. Pliny writes of a belief that the souls of the dead are contained in a bean, thus explaining their use in memorial sacrifices to dead relatives (HN 18.118–119).
7. Seneca was probably the most prolific writer of *consolatio*. See Seneca *De Consolatione ad Marciam*, *Ad Polybium de Consolatione*, and *Ad Helviam Matrem de Consolatione*.
8. Wilcox (2005: 241) suggests the tone of the letters and the lack of specific details about the person who is being grieved for support this argument, stating that 'if consolatory letters were a means of self-promotion, of maintaining friendships, and of garnering increased prestige, personal information about the deceased would not advance their real aim. Reluctance on the author's part to deflect admiration or attention from himself and his relationship with his addressee, while not necessarily pursued as a deliberate rhetorical strategy, would help to explain the absence of information here.'
9. For reviews of this work, see Richardson (1973) and Rife (1997). Rife, who reviewed the book at the time of a reprint twenty-five years after publication, commented that although it was out of date in terms of methodology, it was still 'the standard reference for many classicists.'
10. For a review of this work, see Davies (1995).
11. Whilst the development of subtypes is certainly a valid means to address this issue, it presupposes a finite number of variations. In Pompeii specifically, where there is so much variation, there is a distinct possibility of ending up with nearly as many subtypes as there are tombs.
12. Carroll (2006: 96) suggests that after the Mausoleum of Augustus was built 'there was no longer any point in one-upmanship in funerary architecture.' Hadrian came close to matching Augustus, however, as the base on which his tomb sits is the same diameter as Augustus's mausoleum, at three hundred Roman feet. See Davies (2000).
13. The *lex Cornelia sumptuaria* of 81 BC was one of a series of *leges sumptuariae* that were passed to control excessive spending on banquets, funerals and tombs, clothing and jewellery. High taxes for violations and repetitive legislation (such as the *lex Iulia sumptuaria* of 46 BC) indicate these regulations were often ignored (Ovid *Fasti* 6.663–664; Berger 1953: 550, 555, 724). In 43 BC Cicero requested that the senate decree that the edict on funerary regulations should be overruled in the case of Servius Sulpicius Rufus in order to allow excessive spending on burial and the purchase of a huge plot of land (*Phil.* 9). An inscription on the pyramid of Cestius in Rome dating from 18

- to 12 BC shows his evident displeasure with the laws being enforced (*CIL* VI 1375 = *ILS* 917a).
14. For the chronological development in tomb decoration see von Hesberg (1992: 19–52).
 15. Tombs have not been excavated outside of the Porta di Marina, and only one has recently been found at the Porta di Sarno. See Appendix 3. The areas of Fondo Santilli, Fondo Squillante, Fondo Prelatura, and Fondo Prisco have not been included here. These areas are located farther away from the city walls, are not accessible open areas of excavation, and in some cases are not published in their entirety.
 16. The term *cemetery* (*coemeterium*) was not used by the Romans until the third century AD when it was derived, primarily by Christians, from a similar Greek word (Hope 2009: 155). The modern concept of a cemetery suggests a separate, delineated space that is used solely for burial of the dead and does not necessarily relate well to the Roman (pre-Christian) concept as the *necropoleis* of Roman cities were more often than not a place used by the living on a daily basis as the tombs were often interspersed with shops, taverns and villas. Graham (2005b: 133) has described the extra-urban environment as ‘integral to processes of social negotiation and identity creation amongst the living as other spaces in and around the ancient city.’
 17. Although the idea of the Roman world as a place of shining white marble permeated Classical art and scholarship for many years, it is now widely accepted that most of these structures were actually painted in some way. Brinkmann (2003) is one of many involved in current research on the matter, having recreated the Parthenon frieze and other pieces of both Greek and Roman sculpture in full colour. See also Holloway (2008: 348). There is no reason to believe tombs and statues were not decorated in the same way. One of the tombs at Porta di Nocera (PNC33) bears traces of red paint on the plaster of the podium, and whilst this cannot prove the entire tomb was painted red, it does indicate that the exteriors of tombs were coloured in some way. See pp. 248–249.
 18. See Fassbender (2005; 2007) and Cic. *Att.* 266, 270, 272 regarding expenditure on tombs. Cicero (*Att.* 274) more specifically laments the addition of a fine to the cost of the monument he plans to build for Tullia if it exceeds the legal limit placed on expenditure, especially as he wants to build a shrine and is ‘anxious to avoid the appearance of a tomb, not so much because of the fine as in order to achieve apotheosis’ (*Att.* 275).
 19. In his novel, Bulwer-Lytton gives a very detailed and fairly accurate description of the variety of built structures along the Via dei Sepolcri, including mention of villas, an inn, and an *ustrinum* amongst the tombs. He refers to it as ‘a gay neighbourhood, despite the dead’ (Bulwer-Lytton 1834: Vol. II 86).
 20. The suburban villas in the area of the Porta di Ercolano are generally believed to originate in the second century BC. Although they do show evidence of multiple phases of construction and decoration from the second century until the end of the Flavian period, the basic spatial arrangement of the area predates any of the monumental tombs by a century (McKay 1975: 106, 108–109; Kockel and Weber 1983: 62–64; Adams 2012).
 21. Although this distance may seem analogous to the area designated as public land (see note 23 in this chapter), there is no conclusive evidence that this is related to the distance between the tombs and the city gate.
 22. Laurence (1999: 158) claims that the significance of the tomb increases as one gets closer to the city walls.
 23. There is no conclusive evidence for a *pomerium* at Pompeii apart from the assumption that every Roman city had this sacred boundary. Most evidence suggests that in Italian cities outside of Rome, the *pomerium* followed the

circuit of the city walls. It is generally accepted that the first thirty metres of land beyond the walls belonged to the city of Pompeii (cf. Della Corte 1913, whose conclusions are flawed by the lack of evidence from the area of Porta di Nocera, unexcavated at the time of his publication), as is attested by the inscriptions attempting to reclaim public land that were placed by Titus Suedius Clemens during the reign of Vespasian: *Ex auctoritate / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris / Vespasiani Augusti) / loca publica a privatis / possessa T(itus) Suedius Clemens / tribunus causis cognitis et / mensuris factis rei / publicae Pompeianorum / restituit* (CIL X 1018 = ILS 5942; see also AE 2001: 796). *This still precludes the road from marking the pomerium* at Porta di Nocera. The placement of tombs on the north side of the road would mean that they were situated within the *pomerium*, if the *cippus* bearing the inscription of T. Suedius Clemens is in fact the demarcation for this boundary. If the *cippus* does mark a *pomerium*, the expectation would be for the tombs located within the boundary to include the formula used to indicate a decurionial grant, but most of the epitaphs do not contain this statement. In addition, van Tilberg (2007: 162) makes the argument, I think correctly, that the *pomerium* would not be used as a road in any way, simply because of its sacred nature. In addition, the actual text of the Vespasianic inscription includes the phrase *loca publica* and does not actually name the boundary as the *pomerium*.

24. There are no monumental tombs that survive from the earliest years of the Roman colony, and the pre-Roman population adhered to different burial practices. The pre-Roman graves that have been discovered are discussed in Chapter 3.
25. For instance, the *tumulus* tomb rose in popularity in the late Republican/early Augustan period, and the house tomb flourished in the late first and early second centuries AD.
26. The *necropoleis* at Isola Sacra and Ostia both contain tombs that date from the mid to end of the first century AD, contemporaneous to those at Pompeii, and continue to be utilized over the next few centuries. At these cemeteries, particularly at Isola Sacra (Baldassarre 1987), there is a fairly uniform use of tomb design amongst people of the same economic background that changes little throughout a long period of use. Hackworth Petersen (2006: 185–197) states that in Ostia and Isola Sacra tombs give the impression of being carefully planned because of their similarity, which is a sharp contrast to the variety found in Pompeii. However, it must be noted that the period of use of the Ostian *necropoleis* is much longer than that of Pompeii, with multiple phases of construction (and destruction) which have eliminated most of the earlier tombs that would have been built during the time when competition in the funerary realm was more prevalent.
27. Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill (1999: 111) describe the city as representing a ‘complex interaction between native populations, Greek settlers and an Etruscan presence.’
28. For a map of citywide distribution of archaic finds, see Berry (2007: 66). Excavation work undertaken in the last thirty years examining the finds beneath the AD 79 level has revealed substantial archaic material in a variety of locations in the city (see Frederiksen 1984: 34, 88; Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Carafa 2007). This archaeological evidence supports Strabo (5.4.8) and other ancient writers (Livy 4.37.1–2; Vell. Pat. 1.7) who mention Greek, Etruscan, and Samnite influences on the town.
29. Adams (2007: 441–443), however, makes it clear that Oscan does not have a discernible influence on the dialect of Latin spoken in Pompeii.
30. Appian (BC 1.39; 1.50) and Velleius Paterculus (2.16.2) both wrote of Pompeii’s involvement in the Social War and Sulla’s siege of the city in 89 BC. See

Weber (1975) for the development of Pompeii's legal status after the siege. The name of the city, *colonia Veneria Cornelia Pompeianorum* is known from a number of inscriptions (*CIL* IV 3340.141; 3340.143; 3340.145; 3340. 147; *CIL* X 787 = *ILS* 5915).

31. In settlements such as Praeneste, soldiers were located in towns abandoned by their previous inhabitants, whereas in all others the veterans were put into physically separate communities. Even so, there was massive discord that typically resulted in bloodshed. (Salmon 1982: 132; Santangelo 2007: 139–143).
32. The issues arising between the colonists and natives of Pompeii are cited by Cicero (*Pro Sulla* 60–62) and though much is made out of it by modern scholars (see Keaveney 2010), Cicero gives little information other than that there was some dispute over voting and a public walkway, which Publius Sulla, the patron of the colony, successfully mediated. Berry (1996: 252–256) explores the meaning behind Cicero's somewhat cryptic defence of Sulla, concluding with the support of Castrén's (1975, 1983: 55) electoral evidence that the dispute was settled within a generation of colonisation. As Cicero's defence of P. Sulla was given in 62 BC, presumably any initial tensions between the colonists and native Pompeians had died out in roughly twenty years. Archaeological evidence for a division between the groups comes in the form of the small theatre. Constructed by two of the earliest colonial magistrates, it is believed by Ling (2005: 23; 53–54) and Zanker (1998: 65–68) to have been used for their meetings. The amphitheatre, built by the same two magistrates, states specifically in the inscription that it is being given to 'the colonists in perpetuity' (*CIL* X 852), thereby implying that the colonists were looking after their own interests more than those of the population as a whole, at least initially.
33. Although there are no examples of the terracotta plaques depicting careers that are so popular at Isola Sacra found in Pompeii, there are a few instances of similar illustrative elements for an individual's livelihood (see PE13; Kockel 1983: 100–109, Taf. 27–30).
34. Because I am specifically interested in the development of the *necropoleis* surrounding the city, those further afield, often located on what were private estates, do not fall within the scope of this study. See note 15 in this chapter.
35. Nappo (1998: 16) on the excavations under the auspices of F. la Vega beginning in 1765, including the Via dei Sepolcri.
36. Winckelmann (1783: 22, 30) relates numerous stories regarding the disregard for recovered artefacts during the early excavations and the tendency for things to be lost. See also Leppmann (1966: 54–55). For a brief synopsis of the early years of excavation, including some of the difficulties of preservation and recording finds, see Cooley (2003: 65–79).
37. For example, the painted stucco relief of gladiators from tomb PE8 exists only in the form of a drawing made by Mazois (1812: Pl. 30–32) soon after its excavation. See also Jacobelli (2003: 90–91).
38. The wall paintings of the *triclinium* tomb of Gnaeus Vibrius Saturnalis are lost except for illustration and a very brief description (*CIL* X 1033; Adams 1870: 244–245; Graham 2005a: 59).
39. In 1998 the tombs at Porta di Stabia were visible, though the area had been cordoned off from tourist traffic. The gate and beyond remains blocked, and as a result became entirely overgrown with vegetation. By 2007, the few small *cippi* located directly next to the wall were still visible, but the large *schola* tombs were completely obscured by plants and trees, some of which are growing through the original paving stones set in front of the tomb. Since then, however, the area has been completely cleared, revealing two further tombs that were excavated at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

40. Richardson (1988) included descriptions of some of these tombs but simply repeats the original publications, particularly Mau, and adds nothing new.
41. Their work does not, however, include the Fondo Pacifico tombs.
42. Laurence (2007:100), for example, uses the data contained in primary inscriptions and on *columellae* to assess the number of burials that are male or female, former slaves or freeborn.
43. The inconsistent approach to the tombs is evident by there being no published images of one of the large *scholae* discovered outside the Porta di Stabia at the end of the nineteenth century or the new altar tombs excavated there in 2001–2002 until Emmerson (2010).
44. Some of the tombs frequently published are those of freedmen or *Augustales* such as Gaius Calventius Quietus and Publius Vesonius Phileros; women, such as Eumachia and Mammia; or those with some other outstanding feature of interest, such as the paintings in the tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus. As discussed earlier, this is in part due to the level of preservation and the availability of published documentation in addition to some other specific interest for a particular monument. It would, for example, seem remiss to omit the tomb of Eumachia when looking at Pompeii simply because of its size and her apparent importance in the town during the Augustan age. The result is the same, however, in that presenting the same information on the same few tombs repeatedly can give an incomplete or skewed view of the burial record of a specific population, such as that of Pompeii.

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3 The Funerary Evidence of Pompeii

An Analysis

There is a great deal of variety amongst the monumental tombs of Pompeii. This variety is manifested both in the differences between individual tombs, and in the larger groups of monuments contained within distinct *necropoleis*. In this chapter a number of the expressions of this diversity, specifically elements of layout and design within the necropolis, tomb types, and decoration are explored. This includes an analysis of the chronological and geographical distribution of the types of tombs being constructed, and the social and legal status (if known) of the occupants, as a means to determine a pattern in the development of the various *necropoleis*.

There are, however, a number of aspects that must be kept in mind for the purposes of this study. First, that this is a fairly curtailed body of evidence: modern development of the Vesuvian area has been an impediment to excavation of the ancient sites. This has had a very tangible impact on the number of funerary monuments that are accessible. The standing structures visible around the walls of Pompeii by no means provide a full account of the tombs buried by Vesuvius, and in most cases, excavation was not carried out very far beyond any of the gates of the city.¹ In addition, little has been excavated beyond the circuit of the walls themselves; there are probably many more tombs awaiting disinterment within the immediate environs of the archaeological site.² Furthermore, there is no funerary evidence provided by another city comparable to Pompeii in terms of a similar demography, geography, and chronological development of the city that would enhance this study. Herculaneum is the only place that comes close, but the inability to properly excavate the entirety of that city means that no truly analogous group of tombs has been brought to light.³ Finally, it is important to note that, prior to the Roman colonization of Pompeii in 80 BC, the methods of interment and of commemoration were different and bear no real impact on the monumental tombs that remain visible today.

PRE-ROMAN BURIAL

The earliest graves identified at Pompeii belong to the pre-Roman period, and differ greatly in form from those of the postcolonial years. Although

Pompeii had a rich cultural history spanning several centuries with periods of domination by the Greeks, Etruscans, and Samnites, none of these groups built monumental tombs, or at least none that survived antiquity (Richardson 1988: 184).⁴ This is hardly unusual, as most areas in the Western provinces had no pre-Roman tradition of stone monuments (Carroll 2013: 561). The majority of the evidence based on the pre-Roman graves that have been discovered shows that the dominant practice at the time was inhumation (Mau 1908: 425; Davies 1977: 13). These graves mostly consisted of simple burials of the corpse in stone or tile-lined cists, or occasionally even unlined burials (Della Corte 1916: 287–288; Davies 1977: 13; Ling 2005: 79). Some of these rather basic burials include grave goods such as bronze bracelets, terracotta bowls, jars and lamps, including Greek forms such as lekythoi, kylixes, and skyphoi (Della Corte 1916: 292–295; Kockel 1983: 161).⁵ If the burial spot was actually demarcated, which was rare, it was typically with a simple stone marker (Mau 1908: 426–427; Della Corte 1916: 288–291; Salmon 1967: 61–63).

A few pre-Roman graves have been identified beyond Porta di Ercolano. This identification probably originated with Mau who notes the existence of a small Oscan cemetery that contains skeletons on the north-west side of the city (Mau 1908: 425–426). Adams mentions the remains of a third-century-BC Samnite necropolis in the garden of the Villa of Mosaic Columns, stipulating that it is impossible to know if these have any relationship to the second-century house (Adams 2012: 55). Toynbee notes a series of three Samnite graves on the north side of the road leading away from the Porta di Ercolano on her plan of the cemetery, but fails to elaborate any further on the nature of the burials (Toynbee 1971: 120–121). This is slightly problematic, as later studies refer back to her when they mention ‘Samnite graves.’ Kockel includes a brief description of the graves; his discussion, however, confuses matters slightly as there are a number of variable dates. He mentions nine pre-Roman burials of corpses alongside seven terracotta urns containing ashes, three of which are covered with brick. One of these bricks is stamped with the name L. Eumachius, who is most likely the father of the Eumachia of the eponymous building in the Forum and was a known tile and amphora manufacturer (*CIL* X 8042.47–48; Castrén 1975, 1983: 41, 95). That would provide a late Republican or very early Augustan date for the brick. Bronze coins, found nearby at the same level in the stratigraphy, also range in date, including one naming Marcus Agrippa, one of Tiberius, and two of Vespasian. Associated grave goods are relatively simple terracotta pieces, consisting of a small bottle, two vessels, and a lamp that may depict a boar. Two basalt *columellae* were also found in the immediate vicinity, but Kockel states that there is some debate as to whether or not they were discovered *in situ* or have been moved or replaced since excavation.⁶ Taken altogether, the evidence primarily asserts that this area was used continuously for burial from the pre-Roman period until the end of Pompeii.

There is also a group of approximately 160 graves, the earliest of which pre-date colonization, found five hundred metres beyond the Porta di Stabia in a four-hundred-square-metre area known as Fondo Azzolini.⁷ Della Corte has shown that the same family, the Epidii, continued to use this one specific area outside the Porta di Stabia from pre-Roman times until the end of the city's life, demonstrating a multigenerational adherence to one spot that is considered atypical (Della Corte 1916: 287–309; Stefani 1998).⁸ The earliest graves are inhumations as those described earlier, but there is some alteration in the postcolonial period with a change to cremation, the addition of terracotta tubes for libations, and a greater inclination towards marking the burial locations with *columellae* (Della Corte 1916: 297; Stefani 1998: 94; Scott 2013: 87). These *stelae* are fairly rough in design, made mostly of tufa and limestone, and are inscribed with names and some ages, indicating the inclusion within the cemetery of numerous children and some slaves (Della Corte 1916: 297–304).

What is most interesting about these pre-Roman tombs is that they have all been discovered beyond the city wall (although not necessarily along the streets as was the Roman practice). The circuit of the wall (if not at least some portion of the physical structure itself) is believed to date back to the sixth century BC (Maiuri 1978: 3; Ling 2005: 29; Chiaramonte 2007: 140). Evidence from other pre-Roman communities in central and southern Italy demonstrates similar patterns of extramural burial; besides their location some distance from the walls, the earliest graves in Pompeii resemble the Samnite burials of central and southern Italy dating from the ninth to the fourth centuries BC (Davies 1977: 13; De Spagnolis-Conticello 2001; Gilles and Moran 2001).⁹ The Roman directive to bury beyond the city walls, therefore, is not a change from pre-existing practice,¹⁰ and so burial, though it changed in form, did not alter in location. It is understandable then, that with the dramatic shift that occurs in burial practice when Pompeii became a Roman colony to cremation and large, aboveground tombs, the earlier burials should more or less vanish from the archaeological record, subject only to accidental discovery.¹¹ Zanker chronicles the new monumental tombs as a radical departure from previous custom, surmising that '[a]t least in the early days of the colony, every time the older inhabitants of the town took a stroll out past the gates, the sight of the new ostentatious tombs would have reminded them who now ran the town' (Zanker 1998: 77).

CEMETERY LAYOUT, SPATIAL ANALYSIS, AND URBAN DESIGN

The most obvious place to start when examining the location of Roman tombs is with the roads themselves. The *necropoleis* associated with Pompeii sit along roads beyond the city gates, but there are both subtle and not so subtle differences in the use, and the direction, of these roads and in the alignment of the tombs in relation to both the roads and the city's walls

and gates. These factors all have an impact on the potential visibility of a monument and thus must have influenced the choice an individual made in selecting the location of their tomb, both on the larger scale in terms of which necropolis and within that necropolis itself. The roads that exited the city had different destinations, and as a result, some of them would have been deemed more important or have been more heavily travelled. The Via dei Sepolcri that passes out of the Porta di Ercolano leads to Herculaneum, Neapolis, and north, eventually joining the Via Appia at Capua on its way to Rome (van Tilberg 2007: 111).¹² Herculaneum was Pompeii's wealthiest neighbour, and so this would have been an important route; its connection to a major highway that reached the capital would have only increased its importance and its use. In light of this, one must consider the possibility that this could have been the premium spot for burial in Pompeii.¹³ Not only would the wealthiest of Pompeii leave the city in this direction if heading for Herculaneum and Rome, but in turn, any important visitors arriving from the north would also have come into the city along this road. The structure of the gate is also an indication of the amount of traffic that passed through the Porta di Ercolano on a regular basis. It is the largest in Pompeii, with a central arch for vehicular traffic and two side passages for pedestrian traffic (Ling 2005: 51; van Tilberg 2007: 112–113).¹⁴ Until fairly recently, the gate was accepted to be an early postcolonial structure, rebuilt after Sulla's siege during the Social War in the first century BC. More recent scholarship has re-evaluated the evidence for this, assigning instead a post-earthquake date.¹⁵

Porta di Ercolano differs from the other *necropoleis* in terms of the designation of the neighbourhood. Whilst the tombs at the other four gates are found in areas solely dedicated to the interment of the dead, at least in terms of the types of structures present, the Via dei Sepolcri also contains a number of suburban villas, shops, and bars. Although difficult to imagine in the relative stillness a visitor experiences today, this area would have been bustling with activity, the farthest thing from a place of death and solemnity. Adams suggests the first two hundred metres of the road outside the gate was no different from the main commercial streets inside the city, because it was dominated by commercial activity (Adams 2012: 67). Indeed, the neighbourhood within the city walls is very similar, containing some of the larger houses of Pompeii interspersed with bars and workshops (Jones and Robinson 2007). Porta di Ercolano was also relatively close to the Forum in comparison to many of the other gates, and it was the most direct route, other than the Porta di Marina, by which one could access the civic centre of the city (Poehler 2006: 60–62, especially fig. 12). This, too, must have had an impact on the amount of traffic flowing through the area on a daily basis.

There is evidence that the other gates also sustained a high level of activity but of a different variety. Porta di Stabia is not only the southern terminus for the *cardo maximus* that traversed the city on the north–south axis

but is also believed to be the primary gate used for access from the river Sarno (Frederiksen 1984: 19; Ling 2005: 19; van Tilberg 2007: 44).¹⁶ Van Tilberg argues for the existence of a gatekeeper's lodge just inside the east side of the gate at Porta di Stabia, supporting his claim by citing similar speculation by other scholars such as Mau, Overbeck, and Etienne (Overbeck and Mau 1884: 49–50; Mau 1908: 246–247; Etienne 1966: 108–109; van Tilberg 2007: 111). Although there is archaeological evidence for the existence of some small box-like structure, its actual purpose has never been determined (Devore and Ellis 2008). This would have served to control the flow of traffic and deal with customs and taxation of goods being brought into the city.¹⁷ The area in the immediate vicinity of the gate is rather mixed, containing not only houses and shops but also, more important, both the large and small theatres. Their location close to Porta di Stabia must have had an impact on the quantity of movement in the area, at least during times when the theatres were used for performances or other large gatherings.¹⁸ A final point regarding the volume and flow of traffic in the area is that Porta di Stabia is also the most direct entranceway to the commercial district of Pompeii that was centred on the Via dell'Abbondanza and Via Stabiana (Ellis 2004: 377–378; Ling 2005: 23–24).

At the northern end of the *cardo maximus* opposite the Porta di Stabia, Porta del Vesuvio served an entirely different purpose in terms of traffic. This gate led to the countryside, to the farms and villas that stretched from the walls of Pompeii up to the slopes of Vesuvius (Ling 2005: 19). Excavation of the villas discovered to the north and east of Pompeii all include working farms (Ling 2005: 63; Adams 2012).¹⁹ Unlike most of the other gates, this was not a direct access point for another town. Those using this gate would be coming from or going to the countryside, and this would presumably limit the majority of the traffic to agricultural goods and workers. This suggests, regardless of the actual volume of traffic, that those using this gate were of a lower social and economic standing, if not also of lesser legal status. Not just the quantity of the traffic but also the quality of it may have influenced the view of this area as a desirable final resting place.

Porta di Nola is located further east on the circuit of the city wall. It is the terminus of the Via di Nola which bisects the remaining unexcavated areas of the town. Though it is therefore impossible to know the character of the neighbourhood in its entirety, the preliminary conclusions have always been that this area is predominantly residential. It is the route around Vesuvius leading to the neighbouring city of Nola and then on to Capua. How important the town of Nola was to the daily life of ancient Pompeii is unclear; however, the mere existence of a gate in this area of the city suggests that there was suitable traffic to warrant it.

Most evidence found in Pompeii for the interaction with another local population points to the inhabitants of Nuceria.²⁰ Porta di Nocera is located in the south-eastern section of the city, and the necropolis there is notable for a number of reasons. The most striking feature, as discussed briefly in

Chapter 2, is that the tombs themselves are positioned more than thirty metres from the city wall, and run parallel to it. This characteristic is a complete deviation from the other tomb groups around Pompeii in relation to the distance from the city wall and the alignment of the tombs relative to the circuit of the wall itself. Because of its proximity to the arena, Porta di Nocera would have served as one of the primary gates for access to the amphitheatre, which may in part explain the evolution of the necropolis.²¹ The amphitheatre²² at Pompeii was most likely one of the oldest permanent stone structures of this type in Italy and probably had a significant impact on the local economy not only in terms of the games themselves but also as the location of a regional travelling market (Welch 2007: 76–77, 197; *CIL* IV 1096, 4182, 8863). Pompeii was not the only town in the vicinity with a permanent amphitheatre, and there are a number of others in the area, including Nuceria, Nola, Cumae and Puteoli (which actually gained a second, much larger amphitheatre in the Flavian period), as well as Cales and Capua. There were also a number of gladiatorial schools located around Capua, most of which were owned by aristocratic men from Rome such as Julius Caesar, and later became the property of the emperors (Welch 2007: 91). The *graffiti* and *dipinti* found in Pompeii indicate there was actually something of a games circuit in this part of Campania (see Cooley and Cooley 2004: app. 1). Advertisements for games in Nola and Cales are found on the tombs at Porta di Nocera (*CIL* IV 9977, 10237).²³ Coleman argues that '[t]he fact that the record comes from just outside one of the gates at Pompeii suggests that there was a "games-circuit" in the hinterland of the Bay of Naples that attracted a following over a wide area' (Coleman 1999: 44). There is limited evidence that the amphitheatre at Pompeii was built in an area previously containing middle-class housing dating from the second century BC that was destroyed to make space for the amphitheatre (Welch 2007: 98).

As only one monumental tomb has been discovered recently at Porta di Sarno and only a few late Republican tombs at Porta di Nocera,²⁴ this suggests that there was initially some effort by the *ordo* to control the potential for loitering in and around the amphitheatre by limiting places in which to do so, such as tombs. As Ling has stated, '[m]arginalising the amphitheatre had the advantage of keeping potentially rowdy crowds away from the city centre; at the same time, spectators from communities further up the Sarno valley, such as Nuceria, could be channelled in and out through the nearest city gates' (Ling 2005: 55). As mentioned earlier, the ancient sources include certain undesirable activities taking place in and around tombs: Martial describes of the use of cemeteries by 'dirty drabs' (*Ep.* 1.34.8), and 'tomb-frequenting whores' (*Ep.* 3.93.15); Petronius's novel includes a story about a woman who spends time in her husband's tomb, initially mourning him, but she is soon seduced by a soldier keeping watch over the tombs,²⁵ which results in regular sexual activity taking place within the tomb, though 'of course shutting the door of the vault, so that any friend or stranger who

came to the tomb would imagine that this most virtuous lady had breathed her last over her husband's body' (*Satyr.* 111). In a discussion on the prescriptions that took place during the Civil Wars, Appian mentions people who 'escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs' (*BC* 4.36; also 4.44 and 4.47). In light of this sort of behaviour, keeping the potential of such occurrences to a minimum by controlling tomb location in relation to the throngs in attendance at the amphitheatre would have been desirable.

Further evidence of attempts to control traffic and movement can be found in the existence of some type of orbital road, specifically at Porta di Ercolano, Porta di Nola and Porta di Nocera. That these three gates are located in the north-west, north-east, and south-east sectors of the city, respectively, seems to show fairly conclusively that such a road existed around the majority of the city. In reality, it makes sense that there would have been a route of this kind. Pompeii was an important hub for trade and travel of both people and goods, disseminating items to inland territories that were transported by sea to the area. Moving the volumes of goods that must have come by sea through the city, with its narrow, twisting streets and one-way systems would have been a nightmare for both the cart drivers charged with such a task and the pedestrians simply trying to move about the city on their daily errands. The transport of goods would have been busiest along roads between the harbour and industrial quarters and the shopping district along the Via dell'Abbondanza (van Tilberg 2007: 74). A delay caused by tolls and customs points would have been a particular problem at city gates, and it would have made more sense for goods not destined for Pompeii to be taken around the city (van Tilberg 2007: 85). At Porta di Ercolano, where 250 metres of the road beyond the gate has been excavated, there is evidence of a ring road to the east running along the circuit of the walls, which would have enabled traffic to avoid the city (Ling 2005: 25). The topography of the land to the west includes a very steep incline and would have been extremely difficult to navigate, allowing for the conclusion that this ring road may have only circumnavigated a portion of the city wall, likely not existing where the gradient of the landscape was most severe between Porta di Ercolano to the west, bypassing Porta di Marina and continuing again from Porta di Stabia.

A number of aspects of the archaeological record support the theory of an orbital road. One is a type of tomb, the *schola* or bench tomb, found at four of the city gates.²⁶ The largest of these is found at Porta di Stabia, which was believed to be the busiest gate, handling the majority of river traffic, and therefore a place at which large numbers of people would have had to wait to gain entrance to the city whilst goods were inspected and customs taxes levied. At Porta di Nola, neither of the *scholae* actually faces the road, but rather, they sit at angles, framing the intersection of the main and orbital roads and look towards the city gate. The other tombs found at Porta di Nola sit off to the west, farther along part of the orbital road.

Although there are no bench tombs to be found here, the odd alignment of the tombs at Porta di Nocera is a further indication of the existence of a circuitous route around the city. The location of tombs on an axis parallel to the city walls must be part of an orbital road. One final element of the construction of the tombs themselves that supports this idea is the chronological distribution of the monuments (and other graves) across the city. As discussed earlier, the pre-Roman gravesites are some distance from the gates at Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Stabia, both of which have roads radiating from the area long believed to be the original settlement of the city, the *Altstadt* (Descœudres 2007: 12). The majority of the oldest Roman-era tombs are also found at these gates, whereas the oldest found in the cemetery at Porta di Nocera are to the west, on the part of the road that is closest to Porta di Stabia. If one considers the layout of that section of the city, it is logical that the earliest tombs would have been built closest to the original centre of the city and spread out along the orbital road, running along the walls of the city until the next gate was reached. One last element that supports the idea of an orbital road is the amount of *graffiti* and *dipinti* found on the tombs, particularly those at Porta di Nocera. As many of these are found on tombs some distance from the main road leaving the city, it seems odd that someone would be travelling past these tombs to either write or read such messages if there was not a road to follow. The notion of advertising on tombs automatically implies that someone would be there to read it.

A final aspect to consider in the layout and spatial design of the *necropoleis* is one of visibility. Particularly at Porta di Nocera and Porta di Ercolano, the natural topography of the land is used in order to increase visibility. At Porta di Ercolano, the natural slope of the ground is compensated for by the construction of platforms that provide a level base for some tombs that are positioned on sloping ground (PE2 and PE4), whereas others are designed specifically to compensate for being located on ground at a lower level (PE5). Those built at greater height use other means to draw the eye upwards, such as placing additional inscriptions at eye level in the retaining wall (PE16). Height is used to similar advantage at Porta di Nocera, where a tomb is placed directly behind (PNc35) but above another, so that when leaving the city gate (which is at the top of a steep slope down to the street level where the tombs are located), the eye is immediately drawn not to the tomb on the lowest level but to the higher one, as it is directly in the eyeline at the point when one exists the city.

TOMB TYPES

The monumental tombs found at Pompeii take a variety of forms,²⁷ many of which defy classification in one category as they contain numerous elements

of style or decoration. A combination of features from two or more types of monuments is not unusual. The task of identifying tombs accurately is, of course, hindered by damage and decay that have occurred both in antiquity and since excavation, as well as by modern restoration work. Many of the tombs that look similar to the viewer today were, in fact, very different at one time. The loss of superstructures renders the bases almost indistinguishable from one another. For example, many of the tombs on the north-eastern side of the road at Porta di Nocera today look identical, but originally some supported *aedicula* (PNC3, PNC6) whilst others were topped with a *tholos* (PNC2, PNC7). Furthermore, many of the remnants of upper levels of the monuments are so incomplete that identification of the original form is rendered little more than guesswork, plausible though it may be. The only dominant element of uniformity amongst the tombs in Pompeii is that virtually all burials,²⁸ regardless of the type of tomb, incorporate the regional style of headstone or *columella* that is exclusively found in southern Campania.

Despite the apparent differences in the overall physical appearance of the tombs found at various locations, the types of monuments found at Pompeii are found in some form at all *necropoleis*;²⁹ there is no one style that dominates in any of the burial areas; rather, the distribution of type across area is relatively uniform. Wallace-Hadrill characterizes this feature of *necropoleis* of the late first century BC and early first century AD as ‘a formal diversity.’ He questions if the variety of typology in a place such as the necropolis at Porta di Nocera actually has any significance, asking, ‘If you chose an altar or mini-temple, were you showing yourself more pious? If a tumulus-shaped mausoleum, were you more heroic? If a triumphal arch, more military? If a palace-façade, more regal? If a house-façade, more domestic?’ (2008: 61). With little discernible pattern to the tomb types utilised in Pompeii, Wallace-Hadrill makes a fair point in arguing that there may be no inherent meaning in opting for one tomb type over another. Tombs of each type date to all periods within the life of Roman Pompeii. For example, *aedicula* tombs are found at Porta di Ercolano and at Porta di Nocera and in the Fondo Pacifico group. Some of these take a more traditional form such as the Tomb of the Garlands which had a podium-type base (PE29), whilst others place the *aedicula* atop an arch (PNC3, PNC6, PNC68, PNC70). Likewise, there is a fairly even distribution chronologically. Other forms of tombs, such as the altar, are found throughout the time aboveground tombs are constructed in Pompeii, from the late Republican period (PE3, PNC42), in the first century AD (PS4, PS5, PE7, PE11, PE13), through to the very last phase of Pompeii (PE8, PV2).

In the Republican period (Table 3.1), for which the least number of tombs survives, there is a clear dominance of type (primarily altar or *aedicula*), as well as location. Only two monumental tombs can be found at Porta di Ercolano; the other ten are at Porta di Nocera. What is particularly striking

Table 3.1 Distribution of tomb types and chronology: Republican

Tomb	Date	Type	Status
PE3	70–50 BC	altar	Magistrate
PE29	80–50 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc38	70–30 BC	arch	Freedmen
PNc39	50–20 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc41	50–20 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	citizen/freedwoman
PNc43	70–31 BC	altar	Magistrates
PNc48	50–20 BC	altar	Unknown
PNc53	50–25 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Freedman
PNc54	70–30 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Magistrate
PNc55	70–30 BC	altar	citizen/freedman
PNc59	50–20 BC	<i>aedicula</i> (?)	Freedwoman
PNc62	70–30 BC	<i>naiskos</i>	Unknown
PNc75	50–20 BC	burial area	<i>Incerti</i>

about this distribution, however, is that the tombs are situated some distance from the city gate. The majority (PNc38, 39, 41, 43, 48, 53, 54, and 55) are on the south-west side of the ring road headed in the direction of the Porta di Stabia, with two additional early structures much farther to the east in the Fondo Pacifico area (PNc59 and 62). What this demonstrates is that, contrary to the traditional belief that being closer to the city walls brought greater status, the earliest monumental tombs do not adhere to the expected use of extra-mural space.

In the Augustan period (Table 3.2), the Porta di Ercolano begins to become a more popular necropolis, with nearly 23 per cent of the monumental tombs built. The Porta di Nocera continues to dominate the funerary landscape with 65 per cent of the new monuments. It is in this relative boom time of building funerary structures that other burial areas begin to be used, with two tombs at both Porta del Vesuvio and Porta di Stabia. There is also more variety in the types of structures built, with *scholae*, *tholoi*, and more affordable burial enclosures beginning to appear. It is apparent from the data, however, that most tomb types are fairly well distributed between *necropoleis*.

The Julio-Claudian period (Table 3.3) shows the most development in the funerary realm, but this is partly due to the greater duration of the period. In terms of the spatial distribution of monumental tombs in both individual *necropoleis* and in the different burial areas, Porta di Nocera continues to show a steady rate of usage. Porta di Ercolano has increased slightly in comparison to the previous years, and with the first tomb appearing at Porta di Nola, at last all five major burial areas are in use. The range of tomb types constructed is also increasing, particularly with the introduction of the

Table 3.2 Distribution of tomb types and chronology: Augustan

Tomb	Date	Type	Status
PE2	27 BC–AD 14	<i>schola</i>	Magistrate
PE4	27 BC–AD 14	<i>schola</i>	Priestess
PE20	30–1 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Citizen
PE28	30 BC–AD 60	enclosure	Unknown
PE31	50 BC–AD 14	<i>tholos</i>	Unknown
PE32	50–1 BC	altar	Unknown
PE34	7 BC–AD 14	altar	Unknown
PNc2	27 BC–AD 14	<i>tholos</i>	Magistrate
PNc3	27 BC–AD 14	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc5	27 BC–AD 14	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc6	27 BC–AD 14	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc14	50–1 BC	arch/ <i>aedicula</i> (?)	Unknown
PNc16	27 BC–AD 14	<i>tholos</i> (?)	Magistrate
PNc18	27 BC–AD 14	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc19	30 BC–AD 14	podium	Unknown
PNc20	50–1 BC	podium	Unknown
PNc24	50–1 BC	enclosure	Unknown
PNc32	50–1 BC	enclosure with façade	Unknown
PNc33	50–1 BC	<i>tumulus</i>	freeborn woman
PNc34	27 BC–AD 14	dado	unknown/freedman (?)
PNc35	50–1 BC	<i>aedicula</i>	Unknown
PNc36	50–1 BC	<i>tholos</i>	Freedman
PNc56	50–1 BC	<i>aedicula</i> (?)	unknown
PNc63	27 BC–AD 14	arch	freedmen
PNc64	50–1 BC	arch	freedmen
PNc65	50 BC–AD 3	podium	unknown
PNc74	50–1 BC	arch with enclosure	unknown
PS1	27 BC–AD 2	<i>schola</i>	magistrate
PS2	27 BC–AD 14	<i>schola</i>	magistrate
PV3	27 BC–AD 14	<i>schola</i>	wife of magistrate
PV4	27 BC–AD 14	column	freeborn woman

house tomb in the middle of the first century AD. The *aedicula* and the altar tomb both continue to be used, as they have since built tombs first appeared in Pompeii.

The last years of the city (Table 3.4), from the earthquake until the eruption of Vesuvius, though the shortest period under consideration, still shows

Table 3.3 Distribution of tomb types and chronology: Julio-Claudian

Tomb	Date	Type	Status
PE5	AD 25–50	<i>tholos</i> (?)	unknown
PE6	AD 25–50	burial area	<i>Incerti</i>
PE7	AD 40–62	altar	magistrate
PE12	AD 25–50	enclosure	freedman (?)
PE13	AD 50–60	altar	freedwoman and <i>Augustalis</i>
PE15	AD 1–50	<i>aedicula</i> (?)	<i>Augustalis</i>
PE16	AD 40–60	<i>aedicula</i>	freedman/magister paganus
PE19	AD 1–50	<i>aedicula</i>	magistrate
PE21	AD 30–40	altar	magistrates
PE24	AD 40–62	unknown/podium (?)	freedman
PE33	AD 50–62	enclosure/ <i>triclinium</i> (?)	magistrate
PN1	AD 14–54	bustum	magistrate
PNc4	AD 14–62	enclosure	woman (<i>incerta</i>)
PNc7	AD 14–68	<i>tholos</i>	unknown
PNc10	AD 14–79	tetrapylon <i>aedicula</i>	unknown
PNc11	AD 54–62	house enclosure	freedmen
PNc12	AD 14–54	enclosure with <i>columella</i>	unknown
PNc13	AD 14–54	enclosure with <i>columella</i>	unknown
PNc15	AD 50–62	house enclosure	freeborn woman, 2 <i>incerti</i>
PNc17	AD 1–62	podium	unknown
PNc23	AD 14–68	house enclosure	freeborn woman
PNc28	AD 25–50	podium	unknown—military (?)
PNc29	AD 50–60	house enclosure	<i>Augustalis</i>
PNc30	AD 50–60	house enclosure	<i>Augustalis</i> , paganus
PNc31	AD 14–50	enclosure with hypogean chamber	unknown
PNc40	AD 1–30	monumental exedra	priestess
PNc50	AD 25–50	<i>aedicula</i>	<i>Augustalis</i> /patrona
PNc52	AD 50–62	niche	freedwoman
PNc58	AD 14–79	enclosure/ <i>ustrinum</i> (?)	unknown
PNc66	AD 37–79	<i>aedicula</i>	freedmen
PNc67	AD 14–68	arch	freedman
PNc68	AD 14–37	<i>tholos</i>	unknown
PNc69	AD 11–79	<i>aedicula</i> (?)	unknown
PNc70	AD 14–79	<i>tholos</i>	unknown
PNc72	AD 1–79	arch with enclosure	unknown
PS4	AD 1–79	altar (?)	unknown
PS5	AD 1–79	altar (?)	unknown

Table 3.4 Distribution of tomb types and chronology: Last Phase

Tomb	Date	Type	Status
PE1	AD 62–70	vaulted niche	<i>Augustalis</i>
PE8	AD 62–79	altar	unknown
PE9	AD 50–79	<i>tholos</i>	<i>incertus</i>
PE10	AD 50–79	enclosure	unknown
PE11	AD 50–70	altar	<i>Augustalis</i>
PE14	AD 62–79	<i>triclinium</i>	Citizen
PE17	AD 50–79	niche	Child
PE18	AD 50–79	niche	Child
PE25	AD 62–79	enclosure	unknown
PE26	AD 62–79	vaulted niche	unknown
PE27	AD 62–79	altar	unknown
PE30	AD 50–79	enclosure	citizen
PV1	AD 62–79	bustum (?)	<i>incertus</i>
PV2	AD 75–76	altar	magistrate
PN2	AD 62–79	<i>schola</i>	wife of magistrate
PN3	AD 62–79	<i>schola</i>	unknown
PNc1	AD 62–79	altar	unknown
PNc25	AD 62–79	house enclosure	unknown
PNc26	AD 54–79	<i>tholos</i>	freedmen; magistrates of paganus
PNc27	AD 50–79	house enclosure	freedmen; magistrates of paganus
PNc37	AD 50–79	enclosure	citizen and freedmen
PNc44	AD 62–79	niche	unknown
PNc45	AD 50–79	enclosure	freedwoman
PNc51	AD 62–79	niche	unknown
PNc57	AD 62–79	niche	unknown
PNc60	AD 54–79	enclosure	freedwoman
PNc61	AD 54–79	house enclosure	magistrate/freedwoman
PNc77	AD 69–72	burial area	<i>Incerti</i>

considerable activity in the *necropoleis*. Porta di Ercolano sees the greatest development with 46 per cent of the new monuments, whilst Porta di Nocera, still with a substantial 38 per cent of new builds, is starting to dwindle in comparison. *Aediculae* fail to appear in the last phase of the city, but as they comprise 17 per cent of the extant monumental tombs, the popularity as a tomb type is apparent. The typology with the greatest longevity is the altar, which is the only tomb to appear in all four periods, and totals 14 per cent of the overall record.

There are, of course, some tombs that defy classification and are the only ones of their type found in Pompeii. Gaius Vibrius Saturninus built Pompeii's only *triclinium* tomb (PE14).³⁰ In addition to the funeral feasts that took place at the time of burial and again nine days later, tomb-side meals were shared with the deceased every year on the anniversary of their birth and death. This stemmed from the belief that the spirits of the dead must receive regular food and drink to keep them from causing ill to the living, and came to be reflected in the design and decoration of some tombs (Ovid *Fasti* 2.547–556; Graham 2005b: 136). The most common depiction is along the theme of refreshment (*refrigerium*), usually two birds flanking some type of vessel (Gee 2008: 64). Other tombs depict either the banquet itself (Tomb 31 at Isola Sacra)³¹ or instruments thereof, such as the silver dining set on an interior wall of the Tomb of Vestorius Priscus (PV2). Others, like Gaius Vibrius Saturninus, take this much further, turning the tomb itself into a dining area. Isola Sacra contains not only tombs with *biclinia* on their exterior (Nos. 15 and 86) but also ovens (Nos. 34 and 89) and wells (Nos. 16, 34 and 75) (Graham 2005b: 136; 138; Gee 2008: 64). Graham argues that the permanent nature of these additions, which were entirely functional, suggests that the preparation of food was often taking place within the necropolis (Graham 2005b: 138). Further evidence for tomb-side dining is provided by inscriptions, some of which make it clear that couches were not always a necessary element for the feast (*CIL* VI 26554; *CIL* VIII 20277; *ILCV* 1570 = *CLE* 1977). Although the *triclinium* was viewed as more aristocratic, (possibly a symbol of prestige), dining seated at a table is also evident in ancient Rome (Graham 2005a: 50; Hermansen 1981: 44). The alternative, used both in the funerary context and elsewhere, is portable furniture brought to the tomb site or moveable *triclinia* (Gee 2008: 64; Graham 2005a: 53–55).³² The ‘flexibility offered by less permanent arrangements implies that outdoor dining was not necessarily restricted to wealthier members of society with elaborate gardens at their disposal’ (Graham 2005a: 55).

Although there is no structural evidence for cooking in the *necropoleis* of Pompeii,³³ other evidence for funerary meals beyond the *triclinium* tomb does exist. *Graffiti* found in Rome makes mention of dining facilities (*CIL* VI 8860, 29958), and there are traces of food, such as oysters and other shellfish, found in tomb chambers locally (PE34; Mau 1908: 432–434; Kockel 1983: 115; Carroll 2006: 72). A number of the other Pompeian tombs, whether offering a place to sit like the *scholae*, or those with large amounts of green space or gardens around them, would have easily allowed the use of portable furniture (see Campbell 2008).

Eumachia's grand exedra tomb is also unique, both in terms of design, decoration, and sheer size (PNc40; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 110S). The so-called *columbarium* found at Porta di Nocera is also unusual and the only of its kind in Pompeii (PNc38; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983:

70S). It deviates from the standard design of better-known *columbaria* found in Rome which are primarily underground, self-contained units that offer no outward facing indicators of commemoration, such as inscriptions or portraiture. The Pompeian version is not only aboveground but also displays the large number of inhabitants prominently in the façade with portrait busts with names inscribed beneath (Feraudi-Gruénais 2003).

Finally, the term *status* is somewhat troublesome in examining the types of tombs built by different groups within Pompeii. Financial capabilities played a far more important role in determining what type of tomb one constructed. Those individuals of some means, whether freedman or magistrates, were likely to build similar monumental tombs, whereas those with less money to spend would build simpler or smaller structures. The altar tombs, for example, belonged to both high- and low-ranking magistrates, freedmen, and some men and women of indeterminate status. Unfortunately, limitations in the surviving epigraphic record place restrictions on a full analysis of status.³⁴ Following the example given earlier concerning *aediculae* at Porta di Nocera (see p. 39), it is impossible to know who built a particular tomb without an inscription. Scott makes the same argument, that funerary structures built by a freedman (PE15) and a *duovir* (PE19) are architecturally indistinguishable, and it is only the inscription that reveals the status of the inhabitant (2013: 94). This, in and of itself, is a telling indicator that money was more likely a major contributing factor to the type of monument constructed than was social or legal status.³⁵

Pompeian Altar Tombs

The altar tomb originates in the Greek East in places such as Rhodes and Halicarnassus in the second century BC before becoming a popular form in Italy (von Hesberg 1992: 171; 1994: 197). The original form is a large, free-standing altar, such as the earliest examples found in Pompeii (PNc55, PE3, PE32, PE34, PNc43, PNc48). Altar tombs change form somewhat from the Augustan period, becoming less bulky in construction whilst also being placed on a high base that was usually centred in an enclosure (von Hesberg 1992: 174–175; 1994: 200–201). Zanker argues that this is the result of a shift from modelling tombs and urns on temple forms to funerary altars, in an attempt to replicate Augustan sacrificial altars (1988: 276). This form, which is found in Pompeii after the Augustan period (PE7, PE8, PE11,³⁶ PE13), is the design Toynbee is describing when she claims that monumental altars are the most homogeneous type of tomb found at Pompeii, consisting of an altar on a base of variant height surrounded by low enclosure walls (Toynbee 1971: 123).³⁷ A later development, found in two of the last altar tombs (PNc1 and PE27), was to create a stepped pyramidal altar which is crowned with an ovoid stone (possibly in the shape of a pine cone) and to place the tomb chamber underground.³⁸ The actual altar becomes smaller as

the years progress, as is shown by the final Pompeian example (PV2), which has a relatively tiny altar raised high above a heavily decorated enclosure.

The popularity of this form³⁹ may have been due to altar tombs being viewed '[a]s reflections of altars built for sacrifice in Roman sanctuaries . . . [which] gave an air of sanctity to the burial site and underscored the nature of the grave as a *locus religiosus*' (Carroll 2006: 9). This implied sanctity may be what makes the altar tomb so popular. In Pompeii, altar tombs are present amongst the first monumental tombs dated to the early post-colonial period of the late Republic and continue to be popular until the city's destruction in AD 79, even as the form itself changes. Altar tombs are commissioned by a broad spectrum of the population, ranging from the elite magisterial class to freedmen and women. Whilst the altar tomb does provide an example of the longevity of particular tomb types in Pompeii,⁴⁰ the physical form of the structure evolves during the 150 years of its use. The progression of the tomb's design is continuous so that one may trace the changes over time, and can easily place an individual tomb in relation to the others based on design (Table 3.5). It should be noted, however, that this is strictly a chronological change, reflective of differences in the burial needs and practices of the population,⁴¹ and is not an indication of social or legal status of the commissioners or inhabitants.

Columellae

One feature of the burial record found in Pompeii is a type of grave marker, known as a *columella*. The *columellae* unique to southern Campania, found only in Stabiae, Scafati, Pompeii and Sorrento, are anthropomorphised in a way that represents the head and shoulders of the human form (Kockel 1983: 17; Saldías 2008: 389). They are, quite literally, headstones, used not only to indicate the burial spot of urns containing cremated ashes but also take the form of a head carved in the round (Stewart 2003: 70). More than four hundred have been found in and around Pompeii (Kockel 1983: 189; Saldías 2008: 389). One reason that they were so popular is because they could be made of any material, so could be relatively inexpensive. Local tufa or lava stone is the most common substance, but there are also many in Sarnese limestone, travertine and marble. *Columellae* were also made from reworked marble slabs, columns, cornices and other pieces of architectural material (PNC72–75, PNC77 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 216–219, 222–223, 225; Carroll 2011: 84). Some are simple in design, nothing more than a small *cippus*, whereas others are more defined to resemble the shape of a head and shoulders (Varone 1998: 85). Some of the *columellae* are carved in great detail, depicting hair in such a way that the sex of the individual whose grave is marked can be determined (Figure 3.1).⁴³ The other reason for their popularity is that they could be used in addition to a monumental tomb, or on their own.⁴⁴ Many of the large tombs contain niches for urns within the tomb chamber, sometimes

Table 3.5 Altar tombs

Phase	Tomb	Deceased	Status	Date	Characteristics
1	PNc55	the Stronnii	citizen/freedman	70–30 BC	free-standing altar of large block construction; decorated with lions in Greek/Etruscan style
2	PE3	Marcus Porcius	magistrate	70–50 BC	large free-standing altars; typically large block construction; decorated with volutes; no chambers
2	PNc43	the Tillii	magistrates	70–31 BC	
2	PE32	unknown	unknown	50s BC (?)	
2	PNc48	unknown	unknown	40–1 BC	
2	PE34	unknown	unknown	post 7 BC	
2/3	PE21	the Alleii	magistrate	AD 30–40	free-standing altar but slightly slimmer, taller profile that sets it slightly apart from earlier altars; no chamber
3	PS4	unknown	unknown	AD 1st c.	transitional form; still free-standing but now a base of large blocks surmounted by an altar; tomb chamber for multiple burials; no trace of enclosure
3	PS5	unknown	unknown	AD 1st c.	
4	PE11	Gaius Calventius Quietus	<i>Augustalis</i>	AD 50–70	small altar on top of high base (usually stepped) in middle of burial enclosure; burial chamber; ⁴² base of brick/tufa construction; altar marble or travertine; vines frame inscription; volutes; additional decoration on sides of altar
4	PE13	Naevoleia Tyche	freedwoman and <i>Augustalis</i>	AD 50–60	new form appearing in late Neronian/early Flavian period; pedestal base with stepped pyramid crowned with ovoid stone; underground burial chamber
4	PE7	Aulus Umbricius Scaurus	magistrate	AD 60s (?)	
4	PE8	unknown	unknown	AD 62–79	
5	PE27	blue vase	unknown	AD 63–70	
5	PNc1	unknown	unknown	AD 65–75	
5	PV2	Gaius Vestorius Priscus	magistrate	AD 75–76	very small altar; high-walled enclosure; elaborate interior wall painting



Figure 3.1 *Columella* depicting female hairstyle (PE16)

accompanied by *columellae*. The headstones also could be found within a tomb enclosure but not always necessarily within the burial chamber. Additionally, there are many areas that are simply small plots of land, sometimes walled, sometimes not, that contain nothing but *columellae* (PE6, PE10, PE12, PNc4, PNc12, PNc42, PNc71, PNc73, and PNc75–77). These are presumably the burials of individuals with less disposable income, who still desired to be commemorated in some way and could only afford small plots of land suitable for the burial of urns and the erection of headstones, but not monumental tombs.

Of the many hundreds of *columellae* found in Pompeii, nearly half of them were inscribed in some way, which provides a wealth of information that would not be available otherwise (Kockel 1983: 189; Saldías 2008: 389). It is because of the *columellae* that additional individuals not named in the primary inscription of a tomb are known, and they provide further links to extended family networks only visible in the burial record. It is now believed, however, that most *columellae* were actually painted, so at the time these stones were placed, it is likely they all bore the names of the deceased.⁴⁵ The painted inscriptions however, have long since vanished.

Scholae

Scholae are found exclusively at Pompeii, where there are eight bench tombs located at four of the city gates (PE2, PE4, PV3, PN2, PN3, PS1, PS2, and PS3). There is no real precedent for this form of a burial monument; the closest antecedent is found in the east. Honorific benches are found in the Greek East, yet there is no evidence those were ever used in a funereal context (Pozzi 1960: 176). In Roman Asia Minor, benches were sometimes added to the exterior of a tomb, yet were an addition to the monument, and not the only structure (Cormack 2004: 57). These were similar in design to those found at Pompeii, terminating with lion's feet. Cormack suggests that the mere presence of benches indicates that the 'tomb was a site at which people were encouraged to linger, in contemplation of the deceased and his or her deeds. Benches, as opposed to a more solitary chair, suggest a social function, and exterior benches may also have been utilized by participants in the funerary cult, for example during a funerary meal' (Cormack 2004: 57). Evidence of this can be seen in the wear of the seat of PV3. Benches dominate the landscape of the living in Pompeii, often found on the exterior of houses, so it seems logical that they would also appear in the landscape of the dead (see Hartnett 2008).

An interesting aspect of the *scholae*, however, is that the particular form of a semicircular bench is primarily popular for a short time during the Augustan period (PE2, PE4, PV3, PS1, PS2, and PS3), with a brief resurgence in the last years of the city (PN2, PN3). As stated earlier, there are only eight of these tombs in existence; two later tombs that include benches as part of their overall design are not *scholae* (PE1, PE26). *Scholae* also appear to be limited to a certain elite sector of the population. The deceased commemorated in the inscriptions of the six tombs that contain epitaphs are members of (or related by marriage) to the ruling classes.

The Tombs of the Veii

Within the burial record of Pompeii, it is possible to trace some family groups who built more than one tomb. In most cases, this is limited to two or possibly three different structures. For example, the *duovir* Marcus Alleius Minius builds a *schola* tomb for himself at Porta di Stabia in the Augustan period (PS2), and his daughter Alleia constructs an altar tomb for her husband and son during the years of Tiberius's reign outside of the Porta di Ercolano (PE21). There may be some relation to the freedman and *Augustalis* Gnaeus Alleius Eros whose *columella* appears in the tomb of Eumachia in the AD 60s and 70s (PNC40), but this is not a monument he was involved in constructing for himself. Another possible link appears between a group of *columellae* near Porta di Nocera dated to the Julio-Claudian period that are inscribed for members of the *Calventii* family (mostly children) (PNC71) and the Neronian/early Flavian tomb of the *Augustalis* Gaius Calventius Quietus at Porta di Ercolano (PE11). There are also two tombs belonging to the gens *Istacidia* at Porta di Ercolano (PE5 and PE12) which both date to

the Julio-Claudian period, the occupants of PE12 believed to be freedmen of the family interred in PE5. Members of the Veii, however, are found in six different tombs in the *necropoleis* of Pompeii, providing a unique opportunity to examine the many ways by which one family group chose to commemorate themselves over a period of time and through the construction of different types of monuments in different locations.

The *gens* Veia is attested early in the Republican period in Rome and Praeneste (CIL I² 1408, 2481). The first member of the family who appears at Pompeii is Numerius Veius Barcha, a candidate for the office of *duovir* in the colonial period (CIL IV 26 = I² 1644a = ILS 6399; IV 72 = I² 1644b; IV 75; Onorato 1957: 164). Castrén suggests that, as he is one of the only candidates known from the time to possess a cognomen, he must be a freedman or son of a freedman (Castrén 1975, 1983: 86, 235). It is his daughter, Veia Barchilla, who constructs the first tomb attributed to the family (PNc33). Located at Porta di Nocera, this tomb is dated to the late Republican/early Augustan period and takes the form of a *tumulus*, an archaic tomb type that was briefly popular at the time. Her husband, Numerius Agrestinus Equitius Pulcher, named in the inscription with her, is not a man otherwise attested, and as such, the wealth necessary for building such a large tomb is believed to have originated with her family.

Two other members of the family with tombs are known from approximately the same time: one a slave, the other an elite member of the magisterial class. Conviva, slave of Veia,⁴⁶ was interred in a tomb to the east of the Porta di Nocera in the Fondo Pacifico area, in a slightly adulterated tomb form that combined elements of the arch and *aedicula* tombs (PNc73; EE 8.332; Franklin 2004: 23–24). On the opposite side of the city is a *schola* tomb, just outside of Porta di Ercolano, which belonged to Aulus Veius, a *duovir*, *quinquennalis*, and *tribuno militum ab populo* (PE2; CIL X 996).⁴⁷ A second *schola* tomb associated with the family is found beyond the Porta del Vesuvio (PV3; Spano 1910: 404–406), dedicated to Arellia Tertulla, the wife of Veius Fronto.⁴⁸

Two more members of the *gens* Veia constructed tombs within the last thirty years of the city's existence. Aulus Veius Atticus, an *Augustalis*, is buried in a house tomb at Porta di Nocera (PNc29). Franklin suggests that he is a freedman of Aulus Veius Felix (CIL IV 1430), himself the son of a freedman named Marcus Veius Felix (CIL IV 3340.88), but this is impossible to verify (Franklin 2004: 27). Another member of the family, Marcus Veius Marcellus, about whom nothing is known,⁴⁹ built a tomb at the Porta del Vesuvio in the final years of Pompeii (PV1). This tomb seems to be unfinished, consisting of an enclosure and nothing more, which has led some to argue it remained unfinished at the time of Vesuvius's eruption (Spano 1910: 403–404; Franklin 2004: 27–28).

Amongst the Veii there are six tombs of five different types found in four different burial areas, spread chronologically across the entire period in which Pompeii is a Roman colony (see Table 3.6). That these tombs are also

Table 3.6 The Veii

Date	Tomb	Deceased / Status	Type
Late Republican/ early Augustan	PNc33	Veia Barchilla daughter of magistrate	<i>tumulus</i>
Augustan	PE2	Aulus Veius magistrate	<i>schola</i>
Augustan	PV3	Arellia Tertulla wife of magistrate	<i>schola</i>
Julio-Claudian <i>t.p.q.</i> AD 10	PNc73	Conviva Slave	<i>aedicula</i>
AD 50–60	PNc29	Aulus Veius Atticus <i>Augustalis</i>	house tomb
AD 62–79	PV1	Marcus Veius Marcellus <i>Incertus</i>	<i>bustum</i> (?)

dedicated to magistrates of the highest level, women, slaves and *Augustales* or freedmen is further illustration that monumental tombs were a shared cultural practice amongst all levels of Pompeian society. Members of the same family chose, for whatever reason, to commemorate themselves in different ways. What the Veii demonstrate is that there is little rhyme or reason to the design or distribution of the tombs at Pompeii. The most likely factor determining the type of tomb constructed, or its location, is one of financial capability, which is to some degree analogous with social status.

CONCLUSION

The monumental tomb types that are found at Pompeii are, for the most part, distributed regularly across the five cemeteries associated with the city, are constructed throughout the 160-year period of the Roman colony, and are likewise utilized by a cross section of the population in terms of social, legal, and economic status. This is clearly evident when examining one tomb type, such as the altar, or an extended family group, such as the Veii. There is evidence tomb design could be modified based on financial necessities, which appears to be a greater influence on type than any other factor. A unifying factor in the burial record is the use of a regional anthropomorphised headstone or *columella*, which is found associated with the majority of the monumental tombs. The one exception is the *schola*, which is only used by elite members of society and is limited to four of the five city gates with *necropoleis*. This is a unique type of tomb found only in Pompeii, and its use by the upper echelons of society is most likely a reflection of that. In addition, as the only related precedent for this type of monument comes

from the East, it is representative of the multicultural influences present in Pompeii because of the city's long development under the influence of numerous distinct groups. The Veii illustrate that there is no defining tomb type or necropolis location for members of a specific group: even within one family there is a broad range of individuality in commemoration.

NOTES

1. Excavation beyond Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, and Porta di Stabia has never been completed (Ling 2005: 79). The area outside of Porta di Sarno has only had minor explorations, and undoubtedly more tombs are there. The discovery of two new tombs beyond Porta di Stabia in the last decade further supports the strong probability that there are many more monuments yet to be discovered around Pompeii. Recent testing with ground-penetrating radar outside Porta di Nola has shown there are additional structures beneath undisturbed volcanic debris from the AD 79 eruption. See Pettinelli et al. (2012).
2. De Spagnolis-Conticello (1994) has explored parts of the ancient road linking Pompeii and Nuceria and has thus shown it is most likely that there were tombs belonging to one town or the other lining the road for the entire distance (approximately eleven kilometres) between the two towns. Her work, however, has largely been limited to areas not occupied by the modern population.
3. Herculaneum does have a somewhat different social make up in comparison to Pompeii but is analogous in terms of geography, chronology, and the pre-Roman influence of Greek and Italic peoples.
4. Zanker (1998: 76) states that even the great families of the Oscan period interred their dead in cemeteries away from the road and did not build large stone tombs as the Romans did.
5. Similarly, bowls and impasto jars, loom weights, and spindles for weaving are amongst the grave goods recovered from Italic and Samnite sites in the region (Salmon 1967: 55–56).
6. Kockel (1983: 161) presents Mau, Sogliano, Nissen, and von Duhn as those disputing the placement of the *columellae*.
7. The land was owned privately at the time of excavation by Giuseppe Azzolini, who allowed excavation to take place.
8. Hopkins (1983: 206) argues that documentation from other family burial sites suggests the continued use of one particular location or tomb rarely lasted more than two or three generations. However, examples amongst the Roman nobility such as the Scipios challenge Hopkins's conclusions, perhaps indicating a need for further study of multigenerational tombs.
9. According to Salmon (1967: 55–56, 61–63), Samnites practiced inhumation, not cremation, and the archaeological evidence from excavations of a necropolis at Aufidena shows the same burial rite continuously used over centuries. The graves were lined, initially with wooden planks, later progressing to stones, and, eventually, to tiles. Many of the graves were also lined with gravel to facilitate drainage. The body of the deceased was fully dressed and laid out at full length in a supine position. The head was usually propped up on some object serving as a pillow. Grave goods always contained a number of rough impasto jars and a bowl, presumably used in a funeral feast (many recovered were found to contain traces of food). Stones or tiles were used to cover the graves, but they remained unmarked. Amongst the grave goods for women, spindles and loom weights were often found. As these items have been found

in abundance in many of the native sites excavated in southern Italy, working wool was clearly a large part of the daily life of Samnite women. Schneider-Herrmann (1996: xxxvii–xxxiii, 104–105) carries this argument regarding the importance of wool working further, suggesting that the women had great skill in weaving intricate patterns based on the clothing depicted on Campanian vases. Though made under Greek influence throughout the fourth century BC, vases found in Campania and Apulia can be identified as depicting Samnites based on the native costumes worn by the figures.

10. As the initial codified extramural burial laws originate in the fifth century BC in the Twelve Tables (Table X.1), it is most likely that the practice has much older and more widespread antecedents beyond what is simply considered to be 'Roman.'
11. A further issue with tracing the evolution of burial practices in the area is that whilst there is evidence for Samnite burial practices dating from the sixth to fourth centuries, and examples of other types of burial, such as the fourth-century painted tombs of Capua and Paestum, there is nothing outstanding in the burial record of the region between the fourth century and the first century BC. The first century sees the development of a regional style of grave marker of the so-called Attic *stèle* type in northern Campania and Pompeian herms or *columellae* (see pp. 46, 48). The Attic *stelae*, reminiscent of those found in Greece, are found in abundance particularly in and around Capua, Cales, and Teanum. The stones depict the figure of the deceased in full form, often accompanied by a spouse or other family members. The figures are carved in high relief, in a local style with flat-planed faces with large eyes and a very linear treatment of drapery. Frederiksen (1984: 287–290, summarising Forti 1942a; 1942b) states that this type of sculpture is extremely rare in Rome, where the emphasis was on the face of the deceased, as typified by a portrait bust and not in full figure. However, this is dependent on the date, and the fact that the *stelae* are dated to the Roman period makes an entirely Greek influence rather suspect. The figure is depicted on a recessed ground which was either rectangular or arched. The figure is surrounded by an architectural feature, usually an *aedicula*, with columns supporting a pediment and pilasters typically topped with Corinthian capitals. Some of the stones also have a secondary relief beneath the primary figure, often depicting a scene from everyday life. Inscriptions were often cut into the architrave, but could continue down the length of the columns in any direction. The treatment of the inscriptions suggests the emphasis was placed on the depiction of the deceased rather than the text. The *stelae* were manufactured of local stone, meant to be viewed from the front only, and the sides and back were left rough. They either stood beside the road to mark the area used for burial or they were used to demarcate the exact spot of interment. The time over which these *stelae* are used is evident in their development in artistic style and refinement in technique as well as in the presence of a number of datable features, such as the type of toga worn or the depiction of a small *sinus*. The *stelae* have therefore been dated to the end of the Republican era and beginning of the Empire, approximately from the first century BC through the middle of the first century AD. This does, however, leave two centuries for which there appears to be no significant burial evidence whatsoever. Unfortunately, these are the crucial years during which the Romans begin to move into the region, and where we are most likely to see evidence of the various cultures merging into one. Even though Pompeii itself does not become a Roman colony until 80 BC, it is quite likely that it had already experienced a certain amount of Roman cultural diffusion by then. The town of Pompeii was, in fact, reluctant to join many of its neighbours

- fighting against Rome in the Social War and did so only under coercion (App. BC 1.42; Keaveney 1987: 11, 134).
12. Staccioli (2003: 61) stresses the importance of the second half of the Via Appia built in 307 BC during the second Samnite War 'with the goal of establishing a direct and rapid link between Rome and Capua that would allow the Roman army to get as quickly as possible to the area of operations in Campania and Samnium.'
 13. D'Ambrosio (1998: 57) argues that Porta di Ercolano shows usage by people of high standing (magistrates, priestesses, *Augustales*) at a rate of 48 per cent in contrast to only 20 per cent at Porta di Nocera.
 14. The paving stones of the road themselves bear deep ruts, created by the regular flow of traffic (Tsujimura 1991; Poehler 2006). There is some further indication that wagons and carts for hire were available between the city boundary and the first milestone at Porta di Ercolano (Etienne 1966: 222, van Tilberg 2007: 45) and at Porta di Stabia (*CIL* X 1064 = *ILS* 5382), which was a fairly standard practice in ancient cities (Plaut. *Pseud.* 658; Apul. *Met.* 1.21; *CIL* V 5872; Casson 1974: 179; Poehler 2011: 209–210).
 15. Richardson (1988: 380–381) argues this is proved by the use of *opus vittatum mixtum* which he suggests is only used post-62 AD. Fröhlich (1995) takes this further, discussing the problems with the argument for a late Republican date. He also is arguing that in addition to construction techniques of widespread use in the last phase of Pompeii, further evidence for a later date is found in the layout of the sidewalks and road immediately outside of the gate and in the similarities to the reconstruction of the Porta del Vesuvio which had only just begun when the city was buried in AD 79.
 16. It is crucial to remember that Pompeii was an important port town on the Sarno, navigable in antiquity, serving as the primary transport centre for interior towns such as Nuceria and Nola (Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.8).
 17. Ling (2005: 103) has stated that '[i]n a city which controlled a river port and road communications at the hub of a fertile region, an important factor is likely to have been a port tax or customs dues.' Evidence from other ports and centres of trade in the Roman world provide evidence that customs and taxes on goods were controlled by the government. Records from Berenike, for example, show a 25 per cent tax was at the very least calculated, if not paid, at the point of a cargo's disembarkation. Many of the *ostraka* found during excavation of the site show what tax was paid, and include the amount of goods that an individual was permitted to bring into the city for sale (Sidebotham 2011: 69, 217–219). Sidebotham (2011: 251) echoes Ling's statement, arguing that '[i]t is inconceivable that the rulers or governments of any of the ports involved in this lucrative commerce would not have attempted at some level to control, monitor, tax, or engage in this trade themselves at the ports as well as via the overland caravan tracks that linked the ports to other regions. The temptation to make large profits was simply too great.' The detailed tax law written under Hadrian in Palmyra is a further example of the government's involvement in taxes. This was an attempt to codify what was previously done by convention in order to put an end to disputes between merchants and tax collectors. This text sets out clearly the cost of bringing merchandise into the city, specifying the amount due for a variety of goods, including purple-dyed fleece, slaves, olive oil, animal fat, salt fish, prostitutes, and clothing and further set out duties to be paid by workshops operating in the city and grazing fees for the city's territory (*CIS* II. iii 3913 = *IGR* III 1056 = *OGIS* II 629; Matthews 1984: 174–180).
 18. Zanker (1998: 66), for example, has promoted the theory that the small theatre was used as a meeting place by the veteran settlers in the early colonial

period, at least partially based on it being constructed by some of the earliest known magistrates of the colonial period, including Marcus Porcius. Berry (1996: 254–256) plausibly suggests, following Wiseman (1977: 22), that the quadriporticus behind the theatres was the *ambulatio* that was the subject of the colonists' dispute with the natives mentioned by Cicero (*Pro Sulla* 60–62). If so, this would suggest the area was generally a busy zone for pedestrians and gatherings.

19. For discussion of rural villas in their social and economic context, see Marzano (2007).
20. For example, there are multiple *dipinti* advertising Nuceria located around Pompeii, ranging from prostitutes to politicians to gladiatorial combats (*CIL* IV 3875 = *ILS* 6445 = *AE* 1990: 176, IV 3882, 8260, 8274, 8301, 8356, 9972, 9939, 9959, 9973, 10241 = *AE* 1960: 32, IV10244). There is also, of course, the incident of a riotous dispute between the Pompeians and Nuceria in AD 59 recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.17), in *graffiti* (*CIL* IV 1293 = *ILS* 6443a; IV 1329, 2183) and in a wall painting in the House of Actius Anicetus (I.3.23). See also Moeller (1970). This incident demonstrates, if nothing else, that large numbers of Nuceria were regularly in attendance in Pompeii's amphitheatre.
21. This may account for the lack of *schola* here; for further discussion, see 37–38. Porta di Sarno is the other obvious access point, but little excavation has taken place there.
22. The amphitheatre, called '*spectacula*' in the dedicatory inscription (*CIL* X 852), was built by the same colonial magistrates responsible for construction of the small theatre. Welch (2007: 76, 82) argues that the term '*spectacula*' emphasizes the functional aspect of the building as a place for spectators to congregate and watch.' As such, she thinks it is not in the least surprising that so many of the earliest stone amphitheatres came from military colonies such as Pompeii. The veterans would have been familiar with the style of the games not only from having seen them in Rome but also because techniques of gladiatorial combat were used in military training.
23. Nola is twelve miles from Pompeii, but Cales is forty miles north, which suggests people may have travelled some distance in order to attend games.
24. Those tombs at Porta di Nocera dated to the late Republican period are at the western end of the cemetery and are actually quite far from both the gate and the amphitheatre.
25. The idea that soldiers were employed to safeguard tombs is telling indeed, lending further weight to the evidence that the misuse of tombs was fairly ubiquitous.
26. Because the *scholae* are all located on public land, it may suggest that the *ordo* had some level of control over this area and the type of tomb constructed.
27. There are additional non-monumental burials scattered around the city walls. Many of these consist of little more than an interred urn with cremated remains and, at most, are marked in some way with a *columella* or a name inscribed in the city wall. Whilst these are important in terms of reflecting the desire for commemoration by even the poorest individuals, limitations to both the remains themselves and their documentation makes it difficult to glean much information regarding status, regulation of burial space, or date. As such, these burials add little to the analysis that is the focus of this study. For the purposes of presenting a complete record, however, what data is available is presented in Appendix 3.
28. It is difficult to say unequivocally whether all burials make use of *columellae* because of the accident of preservation, lack of excavation records, and unclear demarcations between tombs in which *columellae* are often found.

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29. The sole exception is the *schola* or any kind of bench tomb, which is not found in the necropolis at Porta di Nocera.
30. Mau (1908: 432–433) suggests the possibility of another *triclinium* for PE33, but the evidence is inconclusive.
31. This tomb is decorated with a painting depicting a banquet of named diners raising their glasses, as if in a toast (Graham 2005a: 59).
32. As these were used for indoor dining, it seems logical that moveable *triclinia* could have also been moved outside.
33. In all likelihood, the existence of ovens and wells in Isola Sacra is due to necessity because the necropolis is geographically removed from both cities it served, Portus and Ostia. The proximity of Pompeii's tombs to the town itself probably accounts for additional cooking facilities not being needed in the necropolis.
34. Contra Mouritsen (2005) who argues that the elite members of Pompeii had abandoned the *necropoleis* in the immediate extramural environment in favour of tombs on country estates in the later years of the city. This article, as a whole, is problematic, and does not seem to consider all of the data available. For example, he states (2005: 47) that secondary burials rarely received epigraphic commemoration, but this ignores the hundreds of *columellae* found that were either inscribed or painted with texts. He also suggests that some inscriptions found on *cippi* demonstrate how little concern the elite had in displaying status, without taking into consideration that the examples he cites are most likely boundary markers, not the primary inscription (see p. 101). His argument (2005: 50–52) regarding the lack of elite tombs in the late first century AD, however, is primarily based on the funerary enclosure of the Lucretii Valentes family discovered in Scafati. This in itself is a difficult piece of evidence: the funerary inscription of Decimus Lucretius Valens (AE 1994: 398), *who gave gladiatorial games with his father, received a great number of honours including an equestrian statue with public money, admittance to the ordo* at the age of eight, and other honorific gifts from the *Augustales*, was excavated in 1992 in a heavily fragmented state (see De Spagnolis Conticello 1993–1994; Camodeca 2004). The inscription was not embedded in the enclosure wall, nor was there any clear place where it once might have been. The problem then, is that a broken inscription, found under volcanic debris in conjunction with a fairly recent excavation date, suggests that all the fragments should be in this location, if this is, in fact, the original position of the marble plaque. The number of missing fragments suggests that this inscription was actually broken elsewhere, in antiquity, and subsequently moved to the family burial plot at their villa where the remaining pieces were eventually excavated. Considering the late Neronian appearance of the letters and the possibility that his tomb was on public land (most of this part of the inscription is missing), I would suggest that Decimus Lucretius Valens had a tomb in the extra-mural environment of Pompeii that was destroyed in the AD 62 earthquake, and the remains of his original epitaph were then moved to the burial enclosure at the family villa.
35. Another factor contributing to this could be the relative cost of land in one burial area as compared to another, but there is unfortunately no evidence that would allow sufficient pursuit of this line of enquiry.
36. This tomb has traditionally been given a construction date by Kockel and others as the 70s, which is likely the date for the enclosure wall. The altar itself, for both stylistic and other reasons, actually dates from the 50s. See Campbell (2015).

37. Interestingly, a similar form seems to have developed independently in northern Italy, where Dexheimer (2001: 78) characterises funerary altars as having a regional characteristic unlike those found at Rome or in the 'urbs.' In Rome, altars were enclosed in burial chambers which had a distinctly private character, whereas in northern Italy, the altars were built in the open air at the centre or rear of a burial area enclosed by walls or waist-high stone balustrades and could be seen from a distance.
38. von Hesberg (1992: 176; 1994: 203) suggests that it may not be entirely correct to consider this type as an altar but admits it is still open for debate.
39. There are sixteen monumental tombs that can be firmly classified as altars in Pompeii. A possible addition may be found in PE32, bringing the number to seventeen, but the remains of this tomb are so badly preserved a definitive identification is impossible.
40. Contra the *schola* which is predominately Augustan in appearance, see p. 49.
41. For example, the Republican tombs rarely include a burial chamber whereas tombs of the early Imperial period are designed to contain multiple burials of the extended family.
42. The one exception is PE11, which has no chamber.
43. The designation of male or female *columellae* can be somewhat problematic. Those that depict hair in a feminine style or those that are inscribed with a name are clearly indicative of the sex of the deceased. However, those that are simply in the form of a head and shoulders with no indication of hair and no inscription are typically classed as male, despite a lack of conclusive evidence allowing an accurate attribution of either sex.
44. Stewart (2003: 70–71) notes that they were used by all members of society and cannot be distinguished either socially or chronologically. He further suggests that 'the partial anthropomorphism of the gravestones suggests an awareness of expectations—expectations of what funerary sculpture ought, normally, to be,' though it is clearly rejected in favour of the local tradition, even by the elite.
45. Saldías (2008: 393) conducted a study of the *columellae* in one group burial of the Porta di Nocera/Fondo Pacifico necropolis, and found that of the seventeen headstones located in Area B Sud (PNc77) all bore traces of paint.
46. There was, unfortunately, no primary inscription found in association with this tomb. The epitaph for Conviva is found on a *columella*. One other *columella* was found in the vicinity of the tomb, dedicated to Festa, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Apuleius (*EEpigr* 8.324). Who is actually responsible for the commissioning of this tomb remains unknown.
47. A freedman, Aulus Veius Phylax, known from *CIL* X 890 to have been appointed as a *minister Augusti* in 2–1 BC, presumably was a former slave of Aulus Veius, but no burial place has ever been identified.
48. Franklin (2004: 24–25) argues that the husband of Arellia Tertulla is Publius Veius Fronto, who he suggests is the son of Aulus Veius. Franklin then continues to argue that this man is later adopted and changes his name to Marcus Stlaborius Veius Fronto. Whilst most traceable adoptions do show the incorporation of the adopted man's name into that of the new heir, changing the *praenomen*, at least in the Pompeian evidence, is unprecedented. As there is evidence for an individual named Publius Veius Fronto running for the office of *aedilis* (*CIL* IV 1134, 2923a), and Marcus Stlaborius Veius Fronto enjoyed a successful political life under that name, elected as *quinquennalis* in AD 26 and as an *augur* (see *CIL* X 806, 896), Franklin's conclusions are highly suspect. As a number of political advertisements for Marcus Stlaborius Veius

Fronto have been found on a tomb neighbouring that of Arellia Tertulla (PV4; CIL IV 7976, 7977, 7978), I find it much more likely that he is the Veius Fronto indicated in her epitaph.

49. There is one *graffito* naming a Marcus Veius (CIL IV 9162), but it is impossible to know if this is Marcellus or an earlier member of the family who was not yet using the *tria nomina*.

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4 Epigraphy in the Pompeian Funerary Context

The importance of epigraphy in the funerary context cannot be overstated: without these texts, we would have no information about the people responsible for, or interred in, these monuments. Recording elements such as status, citizenship, career, and age in epitaphs provides detailed information that could not be securely gleaned from any other evidence found in the tomb (Carroll 2013: 560). After all, the funerary monument was designed to preserve memory, and was supposed to reflect the *substantia et dignitas* of the family (D. 11.7.2.6; 35.1.217; Carroll 2011: 66). Monumental writing was used to memorialise status and identity, thus giving one's name and memory a longer life (Pliny *NH* 2.154; Horace *Odes* 3.30.1–9; Pet. *Satyr.* 71; Pliny *Ep.* 9.19.3; Carroll 2011: 67; 86). The inscriptions found on and in the tombs, therefore, provide information that is the basis for (1) onomastic and prosopographical studies; (2) identifying family groups, both biological and created; (3) determining the legal or social status of an individual or family group; (4) identifying membership in other cultural, social, or religious groups; (5) local administrative regulations; and (6) additional demographic information (i.e., life expectancy).

Epitaphs, like many other Roman inscriptions, are a technical text type that share features that allow them to be identified as a group.¹ Certain formulae are documented both on an empire-wide basis and in the development of local idiosyncrasies in funerary texts. The end product, however, is largely down to individual choice, which can result in variations not only in the way standard information is provided but also by the inclusion of what may be considered unusual or atypical pieces of information.² The evidence from Pompeii is particularly abundant due to the regional practice of using inscribed *columellae* to mark burial sites. As such, the funerary inscriptions come in two forms: primary inscriptions that contain the main text related to the tomb, and secondary inscriptions, which can appear in a variety of formats such as those found on *columellae*, or the large numbers of tombs that bear *graffiti* and *dipinti*. This illustrates a kind of epigraphic post-depositional use that appears, at least to the modern viewer, contrary to a respectful attitude towards the dead.³ In examining the Pompeian evidence, it quickly becomes clear that some features of

text typology identified for Roman epitaphs is not adhered to, indicating that there is a local trend influencing the epigraphic habit. One feature of this to explore further is the seemingly large number of women present in titular inscriptions.

EPITAPHS IN POMPEII

The funerary inscriptions found in and around Pompeii can be defined as two types: primary or secondary. Typically, one inscription is found located in a prime position on a tomb, front and centre, for enhanced visibility. The location varies, depending on the tomb type, but typically faces the road,⁴ sometimes on the tomb itself and, in other instances, is embedded in an enclosure wall. Maximum visibility is the key element, although this is sometimes a difficult thing to achieve due to tomb design. On the tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus, for example (PV2), the inscription is at such great height that reading it, especially the lower lines, is virtually an impossible task. There were, of course, means to combat issues of visibility to some extent. It is important to consider 'the size and forms of the letters inscribed, the layout of the inscription, and the devices used to highlight the text through its position; arranging it on lines, framing it in a panel, lining the individual letters with red paint' (Woolf 1996: 28). A number of inscriptions found on the tombs of Pompeii, for example, have extant traces of red paint in the lettering (PNc26, PNc27, PNc33, PNc50, PN2), and it is probable that many more may have had the text rendered more visible in this way though the pigment no longer survives.

The majority of primary inscriptions in Pompeii name between one and three individuals. Usually this includes a husband and wife, sometimes with their son, or in the case of freedmen, a friend. One notable exception is the tomb of the Tillii (PNc43 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 17OS), which lists five members of the family on the front of the monument. The marble slab is broken and the end piece missing, but the size indicates that it once held an inscription for a sixth member of the family. That the number of extant primary inscriptions is considerably lower in number than the number of tombs found in Pompeii is not a result of some deviation from the epigraphic practice but, rather, is the result of lost or incomplete epitaphs. Some monuments bear gaping holes where tablets with inscriptions were once embedded (PE9, PE29, PNc25, PNc28, PNc32, PNc39, PNc48, PNc56), whilst others still contain marble slabs, left blank in anticipation of the owner's demise (PE9, PE26).⁵ Only one tomb exhibits a disregard for having one central epitaph: the Tomb of the Flavii (PNc38). Because of its design of fourteen identical niches across the façade, the number of inscriptions potentially could have been equal in number, though only nine of the niches were used at the time of Vesuvius's eruption, and only three of these bore epitaphs.

Roman epitaphs have been characterised as containing a combination of the following components:

- an opening formula, such as ‘D.M.’ or ‘D.M.S.’
- name of the deceased, often including filiation and voting tribe
- career or occupation of the deceased (*cursus honorum*)
- age at death
- name of the dedicant
- relationship of the deceased to the dedicant
- one or more epithets praising the deceased
- a concluding formula such as ‘H.S.E.’ and/or ‘S.T.T.L.’ (Curchin 1982: 179; Lassère 2005: 230)

Other elements that may be contained in an epitaph are the dimensions of the burial plot, legal restrictions regarding inheritance, or specifications regarding the honouring of the deceased. In her discussion of epitaphs, Toynbee states that ‘[a]ctual tomb-inscriptions enshrining these simple formulae are so abundant that no particular example need be cited’ (1971: 75). In other words, there are certain expectations of how a funerary inscription should appear, based on the sheer number of epitaphs containing similar elements that have survived antiquity. The various elements of funerary inscriptions discussed here are by no means ubiquitous features of epitaphs but are prevalent enough in the surviving evidence to render certain patterns discernable. The majority of funerary inscriptions do include some, if not all, of these aspects. However, what remains fundamental to any discussion of funerary inscriptions is the concept that ‘[n]o term of relationship, age indication, and epithet was chosen haphazardly, and it was not a coincidence whether some information—such as status or occupation—figured in the epitaph’ (Nielsen 1997: 169–170). Individual choice, just like in the selection of the type of tomb constructed or the location of that tomb, was the dominant factor in the type of epitaph produced.

A somewhat puzzling aspect of Pompeian epitaphs is that many of the formulae discussed above are either altogether absent or appear only rarely amongst the funerary inscriptions.

Opening Formula

Beginning in the Augustan period and coming into widespread use in Rome and Italy⁶ by the middle of the first century AD, it was customary to begin an epitaph with a dedication to the *Manes* (Lattimore 1942: 90–95; Toynbee 1971: 35; Lassère 2005: 234–235; Carroll 2006: 126). The *Manes* are a somewhat intangible concept, apparently Italian in origin, related to the tomb and the dead, although it is ‘not clear if they are meant to be the private spirit of a dead man, potent for good or evil, or represent a vague group of spirits which have power over mortals both before and after death’

(Lattimore 1942: 90; 93).⁷ Regardless of the actual nature of the *Manes*, it is considered to be the best indication of a Roman belief in some kind of afterlife (Lattimore 1942: 95; Toynbee 1971: 35). There are inscriptions that suggest that the *Manes* hold power in the sense of the rights of life and death (*CIL* VI 13377), can be invoked for some kind of vengeance (*CIL* VIII 2756 = *CLE* 1604 = *AE* 1998: 1585), or can offer some sort of protection to the deceased (*CIL* VI 29471, 25605, *CIL* X 2289; Lattimore 1942: 92–93; 122). It becomes such a staple element of epitaphs that there are numerous examples of inscriptions which contain nothing more than the *adprecatio* to the *Manes* and the name of the deceased (Carroll 2006: 128).

The opening dedication to the *Manes* is the most prevalent inclusion in epitaphs appearing across the empire,⁸ and yet there is not even a single occurrence found in Pompeii. This should not be seen as a regional idiosyncrasy because the *Manes* are found in abundance in other areas of Campania (Neapolis: *CIL* X 336, 1493 = *ILS* 6457 = *AE* 2003:330, X 1495, 1498, 1500, 1502–1503, 1510–1514; Nuceria: *AE* 1994: 405, *AE* 2001: 810–812, *CIL* X 1080 = *ILS* 2897, X 1085–1086, 1092, 1098–1102; Nola: *CIL* X 1263, 1265, 1286–1287, 1289, 1296–1297, 1323–1324, 1335; Puteoli: *AE* 1901: 170–172, *AE* 1996: 416–418, *CIL* X 1295, 1588 = *ILS* 7338, X 1723, 1736–1738, 1778–1780, 2645 = *CLE* 1324; and Surrentum: *CIL* X 686 = *ILS* 9191, X 687, 690–691, 712, 716, 726, 728–729, 8130). Since some of the inscriptions found in Pompeii post-date the time at which a dedication to the *Manes* became a feature of epitaphs, and in light of its prevalence in neighbouring cities, the lack of occurrence in Pompeii must be seen as an anomaly.

Name, Filiation, and Tribe

After an opening dedication to the *Manes*, the name of the deceased was provided, usually along with filiation and voting tribe, followed by the *cursus honorum*. These elements indicated the individual's position within Roman society in terms of family connections, legal status, and place in either the political or the religious hierarchy. As important as these components are for fixing one's place within the family or larger society, the lack of one or more of these items could be revealing in and of itself. A purposeful omission of filiation, for example, may be an attempt to not draw attention to a past marked by servitude or other undistinguished origins, by neglecting to indicate one's status at birth.

Part of a citizen's official nomenclature was his or her tribal affiliation (Ross Taylor 1966: 59), yet only nineteen of the extant inscriptions from Pompeii include a reference to a voting tribe. Ten inscriptions name the local tribe Menenia (PE7, PE19, PE33, PN2, PNC2, PNC41, PS2, and three of unknown location; see Appendix 3). This tribe was one of the original seventeen rural tribes whose establishment is somewhat obscure, but it was likely during the time of the seven kings (see Ross Taylor 1960: 35ff.). At

the time Pompeii was made a Roman colony and its citizens granted voting rights, they were assigned to the *tribus Menenia* (Chiavria 2002: 19, 97). The same tribal assignment was given to the citizens of Herculaneum, which has been surmised to be a result of the tribal affiliation of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the supposed owner of the Villa of Papyri (Ross Taylor 1960: 200; Forsythe 1990: 294). Eight other tribes are additionally listed in epitaphs (PE14: *Falerna*, PE24: *Collina*, PNc43: *Cornelia*, PNc55: *Papiria*, three *cippi* at Porta di Nola: *Oufentina*, *Romilia*, *Velina*, of unknown location: *Palatina* and *Collina*; see Appendix 3). Cooley and Cooley (2004: 154) suggest that anyone who does not belong to the Menenia voting tribe must have originated somewhere other than Pompeii. Whilst that may be true for some of these men, such as two of the soldiers interred at Porta di Nola who specify their hometowns, tribal membership was inherited from one's father or former owner, not one's birthplace. Only those who acquired citizenship whilst in Pompeii (i.e. during the colonial period, or if a son or a former slave of a Pompeian of the colonial tribal assignment) would be expected to belong to the Menenia tribe.

It is, of course, just as important to recognise what is not included in an epitaph. For example, omitting filiation or membership in a voting tribe from a funerary inscription could be an indication that the named individual is attempting to downplay a lack of the full rights of citizenship. Emmerson (2011) argues that the *incerti* who do not provide filiation in their epitaphs should be viewed as potential (or former) Junian Latins, but this is merely speculation. Koops (2014: 118) states that not only is Junian Latin status never explicitly stated in funerary texts, but neither can it also be deduced based on onomastics. The majority of the *incerti* recorded in the funerary epigraphy that Emmerson queries have a status that precludes classification as a Junian Latin. The *lex Iunia Norbana* ensured that on death, a Junian Latin's status reverted to that of a slave, thus preventing them from making a will or leaving any property to heirs as it automatically reverted to the former owner, and there were further restrictions during life on the ability to get married or hold office such as an *Augustalis* (Gaius *Inst.* 3.57–62; Koops 2014: 121). Of the fourteen inscriptions for *incerti* Emmerson (2011: 167) lists, nine are married, hold office, or name heirs in their epitaph and, therefore, could not be Junian Latins at the time of death. There is no concrete evidence to suggest any of them were once Junians, elevated to the full status of *liberti* prior to their deaths. What is far more likely a scenario is that these individuals were simply attempting to gloss over their status by omitting filiation. This is a frequent occurrence amongst the *Augustales* of Pompeii: of the seven men who name themselves as *Augustales* in their epitaphs (Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, PE1, Gaius Calventius Quietus PE11, Gaius Munatius Faustus PE13 = PNc30, Publius Sittius Diophantus PE15, and Aulus Veius Atticus PNc29), only two of them provide filiation, thus indicating their status as freedmen (Gnaeus Alleius Eros PNc40 and Publius Vesonius Phileros PNc50). There is oddly one example of a freedman

including his tribal affiliation, which is unusual simply because freedmen did not have the political rights to make use of belonging to a voting tribe. However, in the case of Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus (PE24), there may be two underlying reasons for this. First, he is a member of the Collinia tribe, which could possibly indicate a non-Pompeian origin for himself and/or his previous owner. This could be some attempt to distinguish himself from freedmen of the local population. More compelling, however, is the idea that he may have been attempting to create a political heritage for an heir through the inclusion of tribal membership in his epitaph. There is some evidence to suggest the *duovir* of AD 52–53, Q. Coelius Caltilius Iustus was an heir, and therefore that this freedman was the origin of a line of some political importance in the Neronian period (Castrén 1975, 1983: 147).⁹ This possibility may make some sense out of the rare inclusion of tribal affiliation in a freedman's epitaph.

Epithets

Further insight into the character of the deceased or the relationship between the deceased and the dedicator may be found in the inclusion of epithets.¹⁰ These typically expounded qualities that included love, worthiness, and virtue (Curchin 1982: 182), and appear most commonly in relation to spouses, parents or a patron (Nielsen 1997: table 8.4, 176–177). Whilst this may seem to provide a unique way to depict a loved one, epithets also appear to be formulaic in nature (Hernández Pérez 2001). Carroll suggests the use of epithets and other adjectives are used to indicate loss, but she offers the caveat that since those most common references to the character and nature of the deceased are in fact stock phrases that reflect societal values, it is difficult to infer whether the surviving person felt any true loss (2006: 196–197). This is mostly because of the frequency with which the same epithets are found in the epigraphic record. In her study of inscriptions from the city of Rome, Nielsen found that 96 per cent of the epithets used one of eight common adjectives (1997: Table 8.3, 176). She suggests, for example, that the phrase '*bene merens*' occurs so frequently that it must be applied as a formula and is not actually meaningful.¹¹ Despite the use of stock phrases, this is not to say that these epithets had no value for the dedicator whatsoever. Nielsen did find that, in her sample of funerary inscriptions, 49 per cent included at least one epithet, which is a higher rate of occurrence than epitaphs that indicate age at death (1997: 174–175).¹² Amongst those inscriptions that include the relationship between the deceased and the dedicator, there is a strong emphasis on parents dedicating to children and between spouses (Nielsen 1997: 171–172; D. 11.7.14.8).¹³ Children are often described as *dulcissimi* (Carroll 2006: 198) and spouses as *carissimus* or *dulcissimus* (Nielsen 1997: 185–193), and various combinations of epithets usually involve superlatives (Curchin 1982: 181).¹⁴

There is, however, a dearth of epithets appearing in the funerary inscriptions of Pompeii. As previous studies have found that these frequently appear in conjunction with dedications to children, it is somewhat surprising to find none associated with the many burials of the young found in Pompeii. There is a single example of one of the more common epithets (Nielsen 1997: table 8.3, 176), where a freedwoman describes her patron as '*optimus*' (PNc61; AE 1990: 179a). The only other epithet occurring is in and of itself unusual, because it is not only uncommon in an inscription¹⁵ but generally is also a rare occurrence in literature. The dedication to Servilia, the wife of Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus, is in '*amico animo*' (PE24 CIL X 1021 + CIL X 1046; cf. Kruschwitz and Campbell 2010). In most examples taken from the ancient literature, this seems to denote a deep sense of friendship (Cic. *Pro Sestio* 121; *Phil.* 7.5; *Planc.* 100; Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.8.5; Quintus Curtius *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 4.11.4).¹⁶ More likely in this scenario, however, is an idea of love, as expressed by Terence's *Hecyra* when speaking to her son, Pamphilus, about his wife's feeling for him, describing it as 'the love towards you in her heart' (Ter. *Hec.* 389: '*te animo esse amico sensisti*').

Closing Formula and Legal Restrictions

Similar descriptions of family members can be found in explicit expressions of emotion contained in wills, where family members are described as the dearest, most affectionate, most pious, deserving, and beloved (Champlin 1989: 201). Champlin characterizes Roman wills as an agreement with the heir for some sort of guaranteed posterity, whether it is an elaborate funeral, a large tomb, or an act of euergetism paid for by the estate of the deceased (1989: 213–214). He further argues that wills mattered a great deal to the living, and as such, pervade both ancient literature and surviving epitaphs (Champlin 1989: 206). This is tied directly to a view of personal immortality 'conceived not in terms of an afterlife but as an extension of existence,' through means such as the 'continuation of the self as one lives on in one's descendants' found in the wills of Romans with surviving wives and children, who are almost always named as heirs in an attempt to maintain the family unit (Champlin 1989: 213; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.31). Many wills contain some form of instructions for a monument that can range from simple, such as the epitaph, to more complicated instructions for the tomb, its maintenance, and future sacrifices to the testator's memory (Champlin 1989: 214; CIL XIII 5708 = ILS 8379 = AE 2003: 108 = FIRA³ 3.49; CIL VI 10248 = ILS 8366). As such, it was common in Italy and southern Gaul to indicate in the epitaph whether the tomb would be passed on to an heir. This appeared in different phrases depending on the type of exclusion, all of which could be abbreviated. The most common was '*hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur*' (HMHNS), which was sometimes extended further to '*hoc monumentum heredem externum non sequetur*' (HMENS) or external families '*hoc monumentum heredem familiae externum non sequetur*'

(Toynbee 1971: 75; Carroll 2006: 102). In a further attempt to protect the burial area, the dimensions of the plot were sometimes included in the epitaph as well, likely to prevent encroachment from neighbouring tombs (Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.12–13). Although tombs may have been considered inviolate, there is evidence enough to show that they were bought, sold, extended, and subdivided, thus creating a need for some to include certain legal qualifications in the inscription of their tomb (Carroll 2006: 103).

The inclusion of legal references, either to the execution of the deceased's last will or to the passage of the tomb to heirs is often absent in Pompeii. There are only five instances in which an epitaph specifies that the monument was established '*ex testamento*' (PE8 *CIL* X 1025; PNC2; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 2EN; PNC54 *CIL* I² 3132; PNC76 *EE* 8.326; Appendix 3: *CIL* X 1075). More surprising than this, however, is the lack of defined terms of inheritance by including some variation of '*hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur*.' The phrase is never included in the extant Pompeian epitaphs. What does appear in nine instances is the qualification of '*sibi et suis*,' which, whilst inclusive of a seemingly extended network of friends and family,¹⁷ is not actually a legally definable term (PE16 *CIL* X 1042 = *ILS* 6378; *CIL* X 1043 = *ILS* 6378a; PNC11; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 22EN; PNC40; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 11OS; PNC50 *AE* 1986: 166 = 2002: 335 = 2006: 191; PNC55; *CIL* I² 3134; PNC60; *AE* 1990: 178a = 1992: 273b; PNC61; *AE* 1990: 179a; Appendix 3: *CIL* X 1051, 1074d). On a somewhat similar note, there are no epitaphs that include a warning to the passer-by against disturbing or violating the tomb, which was another popular theme in funerary epigraphy (Lattimore 1942: 108). As there is some evidence of the destruction of (PE1), or reuse of monuments and inscriptions (PNC29; PNC37; PNC40; Appendix 3: *CIL* X 1076, 1078), as well as the clear desecration of tombs by *graffiti* and *dipinti*, this seems a gross oversight on the part of the Pompeians. Inscriptions also rarely include a reference to the actual dimensions of the monument or the land on which it is situated. There are four occurrences of this,¹⁸ but only one actually appears in the primary inscription itself (PE12 *CIL* X 1027 = *ILS* 6379). The other measurements are all inscribed on *cippi*, and in the case of two of them, a pair of *cippi* that demarcate the outer boundaries of the land owned by the deceased. PE3 (*CIL* X 997 = I² 1637 = *ILLRP*² 650) and PNC16 (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 32EN) both mark the extent of the burial area with two *cippi*, indicating an area of twenty-five and twenty square feet, respectively. The *cippus* of PNC42 (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 15OS) is somewhat problematic as it is in an otherwise open space, and it is in no way clear which part of the district is the ten feet by sixteen feet area he claims as his. (For further discussion of *cippi* as boundary markers, see 99–105.)

What becomes apparent when considering the funerary inscriptions of Pompeii is that although they appear to fit into the generally expected patterns found in Roman epitaphs, there are a number of elements demonstrating

that, in essence, the Pompeians established their own practices, to some extent, independent of what was going on elsewhere in Italy and the Empire.

SECONDARY INSCRIPTIONS

Secondary inscriptions in and on tombs can take a number of forms. These can include inscriptions in addition to the primary one found on the tomb itself, as on *columellae*, or the *graffiti* and *dipinti* that are added to some structures by unrelated members of the population at a later date.

Columellae, because they were often within an enclosure or the tomb chamber itself, bear some resemblance to the inscriptions located in the underground *columbaria* of Rome, and 'it seems highly probable that there must be significant differences between *tituli* inscriptions placed on family tombs designed as a social display for every passer-by to read and small slabs put up in a dark subterranean columbarium' (Nielsen 1996: 37). This is likely true for the Pompeian *columellae*, as there is typically very limited information contained in the texts with which they are inscribed. This is partly not only because of the constraints of space but also because of the secondary nature of the inscriptions. These were not necessarily visible to anyone but the family visiting the tomb to carry out rites and thus needed no further reminder of who the person was other than name, and sometimes age at death. It is particularly common to find this type of inscription for children, slaves, or freedmen of the family (PE6, PE13, PE19, PNc4, PNc27, PNc29, PNc30, PNc37, PNc40, PNc50, PNc60, PNc61), and whilst it might 'be expected *a priori* that *tituli* inscriptions in themselves would reveal more about Roman family structure than other types of epitaphs as they, within the frames of one inscription, describe a group that must be considered to be close to the size of the household unit,' in the Pompeian context, the secondary inscriptions often provide more information about the extended household than the primary text can alone (Nielsen 1996: 47).

The large number of tombs with *graffiti* and *dipinti* on them demonstrates a certain amount of post-depositional re-use, albeit of a different sort than was originally intended (PE9: CIL IV 88–90, 1205; PE14: IV 87; PV4: IV 7976–7978, 9171; PNc2: IV 9942–9945, 9970, 10219–10220; PNc3: IV 9946–9947, 10222–10225; PNc5: IV 9948–9950, 9971–9976, 10226–10228; PNc6: IV 9951–9953, 9977, 10229–10232, 10234–10235; PNc7: IV 9955–9957, 10236–10239; PNc10: IV 9958, 9981–9982, 10241–10242a; PNc11: IV 9959; PNc15: IV 9960, 10248; PNc20: IV 9961, 9984; PNc27: IV 10249; PNc28: IV 9983a, 10247; PNc29: IV 9983, 10246; PNc30: IV 10244–10245; PNc31: IV 10243; PNc34: IV 9936–9941, 9968–9969, 10218; PNc39: IV 10221; PNc42: IV 9954, 9978–9980; PNc46: IV 10240; PNc49: IV 9985; PNc50: IV 9961a, 9986; PNc67: IV 3857–3860; PNc68: IV 3882; PNc69: IV 3861–3864, 3881; PNc70: IV 3865–3870,

5408; PNC71: IV 3871–3872; PNC72: IV 3873–3879). That they were written on in this way shows that the tombs have a continued presence in the landscape not only for those relatives of the deceased but also for other members of the greater community. Interestingly, the majority is found on tombs at Porta di Nocera, and it is probably no coincidence that these tombs are in greatest proximity to the amphitheatre. There are a few examples at Porta del Vesuvio, largely limited to electoral notices for one candidate appearing three times on one particular tomb (*CIL* IV 7976–7978; see PV4). Still, the vast majority of painted notices are found on the tombs in both sections of the Porta di Nocera necropolis. These include standard election notices, although the candidates being supported are not limited to Pompeians. The Fondo Pacifico tombs have a number of notices that show support for candidates running for office in the town of Nuceria (*CIL* IV 3875 = *ILS* 6445c; *AE* 1990: 176, *CIL* IV 9939; 9942; 9959). In addition, there are advertisements for gladiatorial shows, the benefits of certain prostitutes, love notes, insults, crude drawings, and even admonishments to one Atimetus for getting someone pregnant (*CIL* IV 10231; 10241; Coleman 1999; Varone 2002: 21; Carroll 2006: 82).

Publius Vesonius Phileros

The inscriptions on the tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros (PNC50) offer a rare opportunity to look more closely at the types of relationships on display in epitaphs and some of the issues surrounding the permanence of carving in stone. The two inscriptions placed here by Phileros provide evidence of erasures, and additions, as well as a unique text that serves as both a warning and a curse—the only one of its kind found in Pompeii.

In his book on stonecutting in the Roman world, Susini addresses issues of errors in texts, which he states are ‘of major importance in the exegesis of inscriptions’ (1973: 43). He argues that errors could be produced at multiple stages in the process of commissioning an inscription, and the attempts to correct the mistakes visible to epigraphists today are an indication that both workmen and customers were alert to these faults (Susini 1973: 42–43).

The epitaph of Phileros, which contains both an erasure and an addition, is laid out in three sections on a single piece of marble embedded in the façade of his tomb at the Porta di Nocera. The inscription states,

P(ublius) Vesonius (mulieris) l(ibertus) / Phileros Augustalis / vivos monument(um) / fecit sibi et suis. // Vesoniae P(ubli) f(iliae) / patronae et // M(arco) Orfello M(arci) l(iberto) / Fausto amico.

(*AE* 1986 166 = 2002 335 = 2006 291; D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 23OS)

Close inspection of the inscription indicates that the original text located beneath the word *suis* has been removed. The marble here is heavily

scratched and has a duller, slightly concave surface compared to the rest of the slab (Figure 4.1). The beginning of the phrase ‘*sibi et*’ is clearly part of the original inscription, indicating that this erasure is a correction of an error made by the *scriptor*. Rodríguez Almeida suggests that *suis* was erased and then re-inscribed but gives no reason for this. He speculates that the spacing, with the *suis* overrunning the end of the previous lines of text and not being centred, was not an issue as the final *et* in the second column of the dedication to Vesonía also extends beyond the margin of an otherwise centred inscription. Furthermore, he claims that the ‘*sibi et suis*’ in this instance is different to how it is usually meant in funerary epigraphy, inclusive only of the other two individuals named in the epitaph and not a larger household (2001: 92–93, figs. 3–5). This argument is not sound, however, as the *et* in the final line of Vesonía’s epitaph is, in fact, centred, and generally speaking, it is illogical to inscribe, erase, and then re-inscribe the same word. That *sibi et suis* should not be interpreted in the broader family and friends sense is problematic in light of the fact that there are a total of eighteen *columellae* associated with this tomb, some of which have been identified as children and/or freedmen of Phileros (D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 230S; Wallace-Hadrill 2008 48–50; Lepetz and van Andringa



Figure 4.1 Altered inscription of Publius Vesonius Phileros

2011). What Rodríguez Almeida failed to notice is that beneath the current text, there are very faint traces of the original word. Under *suis* the lines of an initial *m* are visible; thus, it seems the word removed was *meis*, thereby indicating that the erasure was to correct the mistaken use of the first, rather than the third person (van Andringa et al. 2013: 998).

In addition to the correction of *suis*, there was the addition of the office of *Augustalis*. The shape of the *s* in *suis* and *Augustalis* indicates that these two words were inscribed by the same hand and were added to the text at the same time. The office of *Augustalis* was presumably added to the inscription as he gained the position after erecting the monument (Rodríguez Almeida 2001: 92; Lepetz and van Andringa 2011: 116; van Andringa et al. 2013 996–997). The habit of building tombs prior to one's death (as indicated here) means that the awarding of new offices or honours must have occurred regularly, and it is somewhat surprising there are not more examples of this nature. Whereas the change of *meis* to *suis* was a correction of the actual language, the addition of membership to the *Augustales* demonstrates an 'historical development of sensitivity in selecting what was considered worthy of being committed to stone' (Susini 1973: 43).

The remainder of this, the primary inscription, is of interest for two reasons. One, that Phileros has also built this tomb for his *patrona* and former owner, Vesonía (see Chapter 6), and two, he has also included a friend: another freedman, but not one of the same family as he. The friend, Marcus Orfellius Faustus, is important to understanding the second inscription:

Hospes paullisper morare / si non est molestum et quid evites / cognosce amicum hunc quem / speraveram mi(hi) esse ab eo mihi accusato / res subiecti et iudicia instaurata deis / gratias ago et meae innocentiae omni / molestia liberatus sum qui nostrum mentitur / eum nec di Penates nec inferi recipiant.

(AE 1964: 160 = AE 1986: 166b)

The inscription does contain some oddities of language, and is, in fact, the only metrical inscription found in Pompeian funerary epigraphy, but the meaning, if awkwardly rendered, is fairly clear.¹⁹ It post-dates the original epitaph, inscribed in a piece of grey marble of lower quality, because the letters themselves, whilst executed well enough, are not to the same standard as the rendering of the primary inscription (Rodríguez Almeida 2001: 94). Rodríguez Almeida views this as an appeal for divine justice, claiming that the shame and degradation Phileros suffered from these accusations incited him to call for a *vindicatio per sanguinem*, which he compares to an honour suicide (2001: 96). This is speculation at best, with no real basis on the actual text, but it does serve to highlight the uniqueness of the inscription. It is unlike the more usual types of prohibitions against violating a tomb, more closely resembling the format found on curse tablets. Kropp classifies it as a 'prayer for justice,' calling for a penalty to be exacted on the perpetrator

of some misdeed (2008: 186). In this case specifically, she suggests it is a penalty for a false oath (Kropp 2008: 187).

Although the inscription does, at first glance, seem slightly ambiguous as to the identity of the false friend, Elefante makes a compelling argument that the word *hunc* in line 3 refers directly to the statue of Marcus Orfellius Faustus in the aedicule earlier (Elefante 1985: 436). It may seem a far easier endeavour to remove the inscription and likeness of the wrongdoer from the tomb, because it is an act that occurred regularly in the ancient world. Beyond the obvious evidence for erasures provided by the imperial *damnatio memoriae*, there is support in the epigraphic record of ordinary Romans for the removal from an epitaph of an individual no longer in favour. An inscription found in Ostia for Atania Polla shows nearly one and a half lines of deleted text from the middle of the epitaph (Tomb 23 on the Via Laurentian; Floriani Squarciapino 1958: 97–98, 152–153, pl. XXIII.1). Carroll argues that it is probable part of the removed text contained the phrase ‘*et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*,’ indicating that the deceased changed her mind about allowing her freedmen and freedwomen to be placed in the family tomb (2006: 121–122). In the case of the inscription of Lucius Fabius Faustus, the name of his wife was removed (*CIL* XII 4795; Carroll 2006: 122), and the name of the dedicator was excised from the middle of an inscription that names and identifies his relationship to his father in law, mother in law, brother in law, wife and daughter (*AE* 1983: 494; Edmondson 2000: 323–324, fig. 10; Carroll 2006: 123–124). A final example from Rome illustrates that in addition to altering the text of an inscription, it was also possible to modify funerary portraiture, where in the case of the tomb of Gaius Rabirius Hermodorus, the third portrait was re-carved from that of an unknown man to one of a priestess of Isis (*CIL* VI 2246; Carroll 2006: 124–125). The purpose of these erasures was to ‘remove or to disgrace the name of the targeted person. Such attacks on ‘the name’ were central to the Roman concept of sanctions against memory’ (Flower 2000: 58). This was an attempt to create a *stigmata aeterna*, and describing the misdeeds of an individual who had wronged was not unusual (*CIL* VI 20905; Carroll 2011: 76).

Carrying out a *damnatio memoriae* or erasure of text was an act that could only take place prior to interment, because once there is a burial the tomb becomes *locus religiosus* and then cannot be altered or mutilated (Carroll 2011: 75). This fact has previously led some to believe that Faustus had already died and been buried when his betrayal was discovered, thus leading to the second inscription rather than a removal of his name and image. Recent archaeological discoveries have, in fact, revealed the opposite, which makes the actions taken by Phileros far more damning. When excavating behind the monument van Andringa’s team found that the intended space for Faustus’s burial had been destroyed, creating a double burial space for Phileros himself. In addition, the *columella* that bore Faustus’s name was erased, the libation tube and unused cinerary urn were backfilled, and

sealed with plaster embedded with black stones spelling out Phileros's name (van Andringa et al. 2008: 382; Lepetz and van Andringa 2011: 119; van Andringa et al. 2013: 428–431, fig. 258b; 1002). The combination of the inscription, which summoned 'the gods through the magical practices of *defexio* and beseech[ed] them to let Faustus roam the earth forever unburied,' and the destruction of his grave site, ensured that the man who had wronged Phileros would be doomed in the afterlife.

WOMEN AND THE EPIGRAPHIC HABIT

One aspect of the epigraphic record found in the epitaphs of the dead at Pompeii, which appears somewhat unusual, is the high number of women present in the primary inscription. Many of these are female members of the family, listed in addition to husbands and fathers. Such is the case for Pithia Rufila, wife of Lucius Barbidius Communis (PNc26 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 15ES), or Fadia, daughter of Gaius, mother of the Tillii (PNc42 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 17 OS). Some women appear as patronesses, honoured by their clients in a manner that demonstrates the power these women held. Publius Vesonius Phileros dedicates his tomb to himself and his *patrona* Vesonia (PNc50 AE 1986: 166 = AE 2002: 335 = AE 2006: 291). Although not directly named specifically, other women are present in the form of the retrograde 'C' that indicates a *libertus* had been manumitted by a female owner (see Keegan 2002; PE5 CIL X 1014; PE14 CIL X 1033; PE16 CIL X 1042 = ILS 6378; PNc37 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 5OS; PNc41 CIL I² 3133; PNc49 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 21OS; PNc50 AE 1986: 166 = AE 2002: 335 = AE 2006: 291; PNc52 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 25aOS; PNc60 AE 1990: 178c; PNc63 AE 1990: 180b, 180c; PNc75 EE 8.328, 8.329). Other women are named entirely on their own, such as Mammia (PE4 CIL X 998 = ILS 6369), and Eumachia (PNc40; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 11OS). Some women are honoured by their husbands whom they preceded in death. Arellia Tertulla (PV3 Spano 1910: 404–406) is commemorated this way, as is Aesquillia Polla (PN2; AE 1911: 71). She is the recipient of an epitaph that focuses entirely on her husband, listing his achievements in place of information relevant to her. It is less about her; rather, it is 'designed to mark her family's status rather than to commemorate her in her own right' (Berry 2007: 117).

A number of inscriptions record husband and wife together, although in a somewhat unexpected order. Veia Barchilla (PNc33 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3ES), Naevoleia Tyche (PE13 CIL X 1030 = ILS 6373), Anneidia (PNc54 CIL I² 3132), and Caecilia Agathia (PNc59 AE 1990: 177a; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 206–207) are all listed first in the epitaphs for themselves and their husbands. For two of these women, Veia Barchilla and Naevoleia Tyche, Laurence argues that the order of the names in the epitaph, (i.e. the placement of the wife before her husband), suggests that

the woman was a widow at the time the tomb was constructed. He claims that they attempted to commemorate the marriage by creating a memorial to it, thus creating an identity as a widow that was fixed, 'rather than as the potential (future) wife of another' (Laurence 2007: 104). This is merely speculation, however, because the argument is neither based on any clear statement nor does it make full use of the epigraphic evidence.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are numerous women responsible for epitaphs, usually dedicated to their husbands and children, who list their names last. Alleia Decimilla is named as the wife and mother who oversaw the construction of the tomb dedicated to her husband and her son (PE21 *CIL* X 1036). Likewise, Marcia Aucta builds a tomb for her husband, Gaius Fabius Secundus, and their daughter (PE9 *CIL* X 1003). Fabia Sabina dedicates a tomb to her husband, Titus Terentius Felix (PE33 *CIL* X 1019), and the tomb of Lucius Ceius Serapio is also dedicated by his wife, Helvia (PNC36 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 30S).

Women were a visible part of daily life in Pompeii and it should be no surprise that they are equally present in the burial record, often as commissioners of tombs, or on their own. For Pompeii, as well as the wider Roman world, it has been shown time and again that women had influence in politics, possessed their own capital, and were involved in business (see Savunen 1995; 1997; Bernstein 1988; 2007). Their presence in the funerary epigraphy should be recognised as a demonstration of the importance that many women had in Pompeian society.

Veia Barchilla and Caecilia Metella

The Tomb of Veia Barchilla (PNC33 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3ES) has been compared, and indeed even dated, based on its similarity to the Tomb of Caecilia Metella in Rome. This likeness is primarily linked to the actual shape of the tombs, both of which are round. The only other distinctive commonality is that the inscriptions of the monuments are dedicated to the women first and their husbands second. That these tombs take the same form and are seemingly commissioned by women may have broader implications for their families' place in Roman and Pompeian society, respectively.

The tomb of Veia Barchilla, constructed of a masonry drum sitting atop a podium with a projected moulding above with egg and dart decoration, has been identified as a *tumulus* tomb (Figure 4.2). As such, the structure would have continued upwards, finished with a mound of earth that would have been planted with some form of vegetation, either flowers or herbs or some combination thereof (Campbell 2008: 37–38). The inscription, in red letters on a marble slab located high on the north face of the drum, states that 'Veia N(umeri) f(ilia) Barchilla / sibi et / N(umerio) Agrestino Equitio / Pulchro viro suo' (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3ES).

As discussed in Chapter 3, Numerius Veius Barcha is known as a candidate for *duovir* in the early years of the Roman colony and the tomb



Figure 4.2 Tomb of Veia Barchilla

presumably belongs his daughter. Her husband, Numerius Agrestinus Equitius Pulcher, bears the nomenclature of an adopted man (Salomies 1992: 11, 20–21, 26–30). Pulcher probably originated in the *gens* Equitia and was adopted by some unknown Agrestinus, before marrying into the Veia family (Castrén 1975, 1983: 131–132). Franklin suggests the motives for his adoption must have been financial as ‘Equitius moved from a scarcely distinguished family into a totally undistinguished one’ (2004: 23). If this is true, it could be assumed that the reason Veia Barchilla’s name comes first in the epitaph is because it was her family’s money which commissioned and paid for the monument. The date of the structure is somewhat ambiguous: De Caro and D’Ambrosio suggest that it is Augustan, with an absolute end date of Julio-Claudian era because of its resemblance to other known tombs of this date, specifically that of Caecilia Metella. However, they also suggest that it may in fact be late Republican simply because of its location within the cemetery, and in an enclosure shared with a tomb of this date (PNC34 D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3ES, 1ES).

The Tomb of Caecilia Metella, located at the third milestone on the Via Appia, is one of the most recognisable landmarks of the city of Rome (Figure 4.3). Built at the highest point on the road, it would have been visible for quite some distance during the Roman period and remains so today. The structure itself is a drum shaped tower approximately thirty metres in diameter faced with travertine slabs sitting atop a square base. Reuse, modifications and restorations of the monument over the centuries



Figure 4.3 Tomb of Caecilia Metella

have removed any traces of the original roof (De Stefanis 2000: 29–30, 32; Paris 2000). Like the tomb of Veia Barchilla, it was probably a *tumulus* tomb, and would have been surmounted with earth and plantings. The upper rim of the drum contains a marble frieze of *bucrania* and garlands of fruit and flowers tied with ritual ribbons. Above each ribbon is carved a *patera umbilicata*, a metal vessel used to pour liquids on an altar during ritual offerings. The ornaments of the frieze are allusions to sacrifice and were a popular theme for votive and funerary altars, the most well known of which is the *Ara Pacis* (Clarke 2003: 19–29). Beneath the frieze remains part of a panel carved with a trophy flanked by two shields above the figure of a barbarian prisoner with his hands tied behind his back. The shields have been identified as Celtic in origin, and are thought to represent the military successes of Caecilia Metella's husband Crassus in Gaul (De Stefanis 2000: 30–31).

The inscription itself, on a marble plaque located high on the side facing the road, proclaims, '*Caeciliae / Q(uinti) Cretici f(iliae) / Metellae Crassi*' (CIL VI 1274 = VI 31584 = ILS 881)

The Metelli and Crassi were two of the leading families of Republican Rome. The Metelli were members of Roman nobility, known to have fought in the first Punic War (264–241 BC), participated in the subjugation of Macedonia (148 BC), and fought against Jugurtha (109 BC) and Catiline (62 BC). Quintus Metellus Creticus, her father, was consul in 69 BC, defeated a pirate fleet between 68 and 65 BC, and conquered Crete which then became a Roman province. This is what earned him the appellation of

'Creticus' and a triumph. Marcus Licinius Crassus, her husband, was also descended from a noble family who gained much wealth during the time of Sulla's proscriptions. He was son of the famous man of same name who put down the revolt of Spartacus in 72 BC. His father was consul with Pompey in 70 BC, and again in 55 BC, part of the first triumvirate with Caesar and Pompey in 59, proconsul of Syria in 54, and leader of the expedition to Parthia which ended in defeat and his death in 53 BC. Crassus the son followed Caesar in Gaul in from 57 to 51 and was first quaestor and then governor of Cisalpine Gaul (De Stefanis 2000: 27–28). With such an illustrious pedigree of his own, it seems odd then, to commemorate Crassus as secondary to his wife. One possibility is that by choosing to commemorate her, it became possible to link the two families visibly in a way that would not have otherwise been feasible (De Stefanis 2000: 29). The tomb of Caecilia Metella is dated to the Augustan period, to the decade of 30 to 20 BC, which coincides with the date of construction for Augustus's own mausoleum in the Campus Martius, to which it is often compared. Suetonius wrote that this, the largest known example of a *tumulus* tomb, was built in 28 BC (*Aug.* 100).

The *tumulus* tomb was, without question, an ancient and venerated type of funerary monument. Examples are found not only throughout Etruscan and Roman Italy, but in other parts of the Mediterranean world as well. It is not difficult to find numerous examples of *tumuli* type tombs all over Italy, the oldest of which, found in Cerveteri and Populonia, date to the seventh century BC (Johnson 1996: 227). Within Rome, the Tomb of the Horatii on the Via Appia, a simple structure with low retaining wall and earthen mound, has been dated as early as the fifth century BC (Johnson 1996: 222). There are numerous examples from the city of Rome and from Italy dated to the Republican and Augustan periods, demonstrating a preference for this tomb type that lasted approximately one hundred years. Schwarz identifies at least twelve from Rome and Italy that date to the late Republican and early Augustan periods (2002: 115–116; table 1, 2). Johnson makes a reasonable argument for the existence of a *heroon*, or hero shrine, to Aeneas located in Lavinium that could have served as a model for the Augustan era tombs (1996: 231–232).

Torelli claims that the popularity of the *naiskos* amongst the upper classes was superseded by that of a 'tall, austere, archaizing cylinder' in the Augustan period, as illustrated by the tombs of Augustus, and Caecilia Metella in Rome, and Lucius Munatius Plancus in Gaeta (Fellman 1957; Torelli 1996: 939). Presumably Veia Barchilla can also be added to this list. The *tumulus* tomb, by the end of the first century BC, had come to represent a traditional, ancestral monument that 'would have evoked in Roman minds the image of the archaic burial mounds, with an allusion to the family's ancient origins' (De Stefanis 2000: 33). That reason alone was probably why it was the chosen form for Veia Barchilla, Caecilia Metella, and even Augustus. The desire was to evoke a sense of heritage and nobility, something to which all Romans aspired.

What then, of the inscriptions? Both Veia Barchilla and Caecilia Metella were women of no particular merit themselves (at least none that is recorded) but were connected to men of considerable standing. The achievements of the Metelli and Crassi have already been enumerated. There are four Republican *dipinti* found in Pompeii that call for the election of Numerius Veius Barcha as *duovir* (CIL IV 26 = I² 1664a, IV 49, IV 72 = I² 1644b, IV 45 = I² 1672a). Three of these specifically address the colonists of Pompeii, which may be an indication that he is also a colonist, new to the city and its politics, albeit already having gained some success as he must have served as *aedile* in order to run for the higher office. There is one further *dipinto* of a somewhat different nature: 'Numerius Veius Barcha, may you rot!' (CIL IV 75 = I² 1644c). Whilst this is scant evidence, clearly Barcha was not beloved by all. This may, in fact, be the explanation for the pole position occupied by the women in the funerary epigraphy. In the upheaval and calamitous times of colonial Pompeii and the early days of the Principate, promoting one's achievements and aristocratic lineage may have appeared challenging to the new way of things in Rome, or provoking colonial versus native discord in Pompeii. Thus, rather than focus on the power and prestige of the male members of the family, the women take precedence and are thereby able to demonstrate the distinguished history of the family without posing a threat.

CONCLUSION

The epigraphic evidence found amongst the monumental tombs of Pompeii is, at the most basic level, typical of the funerary texts found in all other parts of the Roman world with their emphasis on familial relationships and the *cursus honorum* that recorded an individual's achievements. There are, however, a number of idiosyncrasies in the epigraphic record that demonstrate a certain level of development of local trends, such as the preferred use of *sibi et suis* to indicate who could use the tomb, or the lack of dedications to the *Manes* that render the evidence, as a corpus, uniquely Pompeian. This information is found in the primary inscriptions associated with the tombs, and serves to establish the deceased's place within society. Pompeii's burial record, however, provides much more information about the population of the city by using secondary inscriptions, which include both epitaphs on *columellae* and post-depositional *graffiti* and *dipinti*. This allows for a more detailed assessment not only of the interpersonal relationships displayed in the tombs, but also a more complete interpretation of the way society functioned and of how the tombs were utilized by the entire population. In addition, women have a distinct presence in the funerary texts, demonstrating their own importance within the epigraphic record, as demonstrated by women such as Veia Barchilla.

NOTES

1. For discussion of text typology and isomorphy of texts see Kruschwitz and Halla-aho (2007), especially 43–47.
2. See Mednikarova (1999). For further discussion of inscriptions as a means of self-representations, see the edited volume by Alföldy and Panciera (2001), especially the contribution from Feraudi-Gruénais.
3. For a general discussion of attitudes towards *graffiti* and *dipinti*, see Kruschwitz (2010).
4. The funerary world was one, after all, where tombs were passed (and presumably read) by travellers leaving and entering the city (see Susini 1988; Koortbojian 1996; Laurence 1999: 157–158).
5. Carroll (2006: 119) argues that the number of blank or incomplete tablets found in Roman *necropoleis* illustrates that stonecutters were expected to work *in situ* with inscriptions already erected.
6. Adoption in the provinces is somewhat later. See, for example, Raepsaet-Charlier (2002: 221) on Gaul.
7. In a literary context, *Manes* is often used to represent the soul of an individual (Cicero *Pis.* 7.16, Livy 3.58.11 and Vergil *Aen.* 6.743).
8. Lattimore (1942: 96) provides evidence demonstrating that the concept was so widespread that it was translated for use by Romanised Greeks as θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι. As an indication of its prevalence, a search for ‘*manibus*’ on the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby returns nearly sixty thousand inscriptions.
9. Franklin (2001: 77–78) suggests that L. Caltilius Iustus, who appears twice as a witness on the Lucundus Tablets (*CIL* IV 3340. 19; 3340. 138) in AD 53 and 56, is in fact the same man who is duovir, having subsequently been adopted by Q. Coelius.
10. For a general discussion on the use of epithets with some examples, see Lassère (2008: 231–232).
11. Nielsen (1997: 181) supports her argument further by the fact that *bene merens* occurs so frequently it is often abbreviated rather than written in full. Frequency, however, should not necessarily be taken as proof that the phrase is meaningless in every instance of use.
12. It is worth noting that when age is included in an epitaph, it is often because the deceased was relatively young, thereby demonstrating that premature death was an important motivation for commemoration.
13. She does, however, state that she is surprised by the lack of children dedicating to parents which seems incongruent with Roman ideas of filial duty and *pietas* (Nielsen 1997: 172; *D.* 11.7.14.8).
14. For a general, if somewhat outdated, analysis of various terms used, see Harrod (1909).
15. I have only found two other epigraphic examples using the same phrase: *CIL* XII 722 = *CLE* 483 = *ILS* 7715 and *ILJug*-3 1930.
16. The phrase is also used by Horace (*Odes* 4.7.19–20), but this is an odd use of the adjective *philos*, used as a Graecism (Kiessling and Heinze 1930: 427; Pellegrino 2000).
17. The inclusion of a larger group of friends and family implied by this term is perhaps indicative of the fact that all but one of the examples cited are produced by freedmen. Eumachia (*PNC*40) is the only free-born person to include this in her epitaph.
18. *Contra* Mouristen (2005: 48) who claims that measurements are never given in relation to burial plots in Pompeii.
19. For a summary of linguistic problems in the inscription, see Rodríguez Almeida (2001: 95).

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5 The Regulation of Burial Space

Within the funerary record of Pompeii there are two elements that indicate there was regulation of the extramural space used for burial. One, epigraphic in form, is the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*' that is used, *contra* to previous interpretations, to indicate permission to use public land. The other is archaeological: the use of lava *cippi* as boundary markers delineating the area of a burial plot. Together, the texts and stones show a clear regard for maintaining how space was organised within the *necropoleis*.

EX DECRETO DECURIONUM

One specific element of the funerary epigraphic record that, in its ambiguity, causes some problems in placing some of the monuments within both a physical and social context is the inclusion in an epitaph of the words '*ex decreto decurionum*.' Traditionally, in the study of Pompeian burial, this is thought to indicate that the tomb, or, at the very least, the land on which it sits, is a gift of the town council, provided to honour the deceased. The ambiguity lies in the fact that the same phrase is used in other contexts (both in Pompeii and elsewhere), specifically on monuments of various types in public locations, and could alternatively refer, in either case, to nothing more than the receipt of authorization from the *ordo* for building that specific structure in that specific place. Such usage has considerably different connotations in terms of what this reflects in the burial record. One interpretation suggests a distinct honour presented by the local authority; the other indicates that the person constructing the tomb required permission from the governing magistrates before building a monument in that location. If legal texts, examples from other epigraphic contexts, and literary evidence, in conjunction with the evidence found within the Pompeian epigraphic record are taken into account, they demonstrate that this phrase is actually an indication of permission.

The *Decretum Decurionum* in the Funerary Context

Most scholars dealing with tombs and funerary inscriptions take this phrase as an indication that the land on which the tomb sits was given, as a gift, by

the town council to the deceased, as a reward for some benevolent deed or as recognition of the individual's status with (Mau 1908: 427; 428–430; 432–33; 437–438; 447–449; Toynbee 1971: 119, 122–124; Richardson 1988; Clarke 2003: 182; Cooley and Cooley 2004; Lassère 2005: 392–393; Ling 2005: 79; Carroll 2006). The earliest interpretation of this originates with Mau, which is then repeated by Toynbee and subsequent scholars. Besides translating the phrase in the inscriptions as a gift, Mau states further that '[e]in schmaler Bodenstreif beiderseits der Straße gehörte der Stadt; durch Beschluß des Stadtrats konnten hier Grundstücke zur Beisetzung verdienter Bürger bewilligt werden. Dies wird dann stets in der Grabschrift erwähnt (*locus datum decurionum decreto* oder ähnlich); wo dies nicht der Fall ist, haben die Hinterbliebenen den Begräbnisplatz von der Stadt gekauft' (Mau 1908: 427). However, Mau does not provide any supporting evidence for this practice, neither epigraphic nor legal, nor does he give any explanation as to why this should be the case. Without reference to other examples of this practice or some sort of precedent, it is difficult to accept this as anything more than his own conjecture, which has been repeated for a century with no further examination.

If it is indeed the case, however, that a *decreto decurionum* indicates a gift, it presupposes that the person not only warranted some sort of recognition for their deeds whilst alive and that the community felt the need to honour him or her and his or her contributions, but also that the town had some role in selecting the land on which the tomb was built. This could have been arranged by donating a piece of public land that was within thirty metres of the city gate or by purchase of land that was not previously designated as public. Though it is difficult to find evidence of purchase, there certainly are a few tombs in Pompeii that contain this phrase in the inscription that sit beyond the demarcation of what is normally considered to be public land.¹

Carroll makes a case for the practice of honorific awards, claiming that sometimes the 'burial plot was donated by order of the town council (*ex decurionum decreto*) and a contribution made toward the funeral' (Carroll 2006: 139). She discusses this sort of gift in conjunction with other honours given by the *ordo* of Pompeii, such as the equestrian statue given to Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (PE7 CIL X 1024; Carroll 2006: 94), or the unusual amount of five thousand sesterces given by the town to pay for the funeral of Marcus Obellius Firmus (PN1 De Franciscis 1976: 246; Carroll 2006: 140). Of the five tombs in Pompeii that include a reference to funds given by the town in their epitaph, all receive the amount of two thousand sesterces except Firmus (PE33 CIL X 1019; PE7 CIL X 1024; PV2 AE 1911: 72; PV4 AE 1913: 71; Wesch-Klein 1993: 66). Carroll also suggests that at Porta di Ercolano specifically, where some of those tombs given '*ex decurionum decreto*' are identified as altar tombs, other members of the population of a lower status purposefully constructed similar tombs on land that was not donated by the town to raise their own status. Citing examples such as the former slaves Naevoleia Tyche (PE13) and Gaius Calventius Quietus

(PE11), she claims that '[b]y choosing an altar, like those who really had been honoured in this way, these freedmen elevated their own positions in society by emulating the memorials of the city's elite on this suburban road' (Carroll 2006: 95). In reality, Carroll's argument is poorly evidenced. There are other tombs at Porta di Ercolano containing the phrase *decreto decurionum* identified as altar tombs, but only one, that of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (PE7), is the same form of altar tomb as those constructed by *liberti* (see Chapter 3). The other tombs with this phrase in the epitaph found in the area either take different forms, or were not in good condition at the time of excavation. For those discovered in a state of disrepair, their original form is largely based on fragmental evidence, and is supposition at best. Though in some cases the tombs could quite plausibly be reconstructed as altar tombs, positive identification is difficult, thus meaning Carroll's argument of emulation has little basis in the extant evidence (PE1–PE4, PE7, PE21, PE33). Richardson makes a similar argument regarding a public gift, suggesting that Aesquillia Polla (PN2), who died at the age of twenty-two, was given the land for her tomb outside of Porta di Nola by decree of the town council because she must have died whilst her husband, Numerius Herennius Celusus, who was twice *duovir* and *praefectus fabrorum*, was serving one of his magisterial terms (AE 1911: 71; Richardson 1988: 366). He makes a similar case for Gaius Vestorius Priscus (PV2), stating that, in order for the town to donate land to one so young (again, twenty-two years of age), he must have died whilst serving as *aedile* (AE 1911: 72 = AE 1913: 70; Richardson 1988: 362–363). Frischer confuses the matter slightly, arguing that most of the tombs given by the town were actually *cenotaphia*, and the only tomb given by the *decuriones* actually containing remains was the one dedicated to Titus Terentius Felix Maior (PE33 CIL X 1019; Frischer 1982–1983: 80). His conclusion regarding these public donations is that because the tombs located within the *pomerium* contain no evidence for an actual interment, with the one exception mentioned earlier, they were meant to honour the deceased, but not necessarily to house their remains for eternity (Frischer 1982–1983: 80). Ling both supports this and contradicts it in regards to the *schola* tombs, arguing that they could be used for burial or as a cenotaph (2005: 80). Toynbee's descriptions of these tombs (following Mau 1908: 428–429) includes supposition as to where the funerary urns could be buried, but has no real evidence to support their actual existence, and is thus nothing more than conjecture, plausible though it may be (1971: 122, 124). Cooley and Cooley's translations of tomb inscriptions that include some reference to a '*decretum decurionum*' indicate a public gift by the *ordo*, but the implications of this are never discussed further (2004: 139–141, 149, 151). Gallina suggests the phrase was used to indicate a gift by the town council and was a signal that there was a direct relationship between the local senate and the owner of the tomb (1997: 205). She further promotes the idea that, within the scope of public land, the location for the tomb actually given by the town council was an additional indication of status and

esteem (1997: 223). The premise is that public land in closer proximity to the city gate was awarded for those of greater merit than land farther away from the city walls. This idea is not necessarily supported by the evidence found in Pompeii but also poses a logistical problem: surely the chronological order of death has a greater impact on location than the status of one individual over another. For example, one of the last tombs built in Pompeii with a *decretum decurionum* is PE1, which is for an *Augustalis* presumably of lower status than some of the magistrates or priestesses also buried at Porta di Ercolano, but this tomb is the closest to the gate, adjacent to the city wall, probably because it was the only space left.

Whilst there is no real consensus amongst these scholars regarding the nature of the monuments as actual tombs or just memorials, they do agree that an inscription that states the structure is '*ex decurionum decreto*' indicates it is an honorific gift donated by the town to the deceased individual. The biggest hindrance to accepting the status quo in regards to the interpretation of the *decretum decurionum* is that it is not exclusive to funerary context.

The *Decretum Decurionum* in Other Contexts

The major issue with the standard interpretation of the *decretum decurionum* as a gift in the funerary record is a result of the phrase appearing in a multitude of contexts. At its most basic, all this indicates is that the *ordo* issued a decree. In Sherk's survey of municipal decrees, he states that there are thousands of examples of what he calls the 'banal formula *l(ocus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) d(atus)*' that 'illustrate graphically how common that practice must have been' (Sherk 1970: 80–81).² This was one of the *formulae* used to show authorization, much like *pecunia publica* was used to indicate the origin of funding. Nicols (2014: 208–209) suggests the use of abbreviations (*dd*, *pp*, *lddd*) is in indication of the frequency of use and the need to confirm the official nature of a grant. The appearance of so many inscriptions shows the range and nature of municipal authority, which is being exercised by local magistrates regarding city life in a parallel fashion to the Senate's relationship with the city of Rome (Sherk 1970: 74).

This variety is illustrated by many recent articles on inscriptions that contain the phrase, which have, in most cases, little if any relation to the funerary context (Camodeca 1999; 2003; 2005; 2007; 2008; Chelotti 2003; 2006; Parma 2003; Silvestrini 2003; Nicolini and Pistellato 2006; Branchesi 2006; Melchor Gil 2006; Fasolini 2013). In fact, the phrase is so prevalent in the Roman world that it appears in Greek texts. In his study of the language and population of Graeco-Roman Naples, Leiwo discusses some inclusions of Latin in otherwise Greek decrees, stating that '[t]he stones have *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)* inscribed in Latin, following thus the usual practice of Roman administration' (1994: 168). The widespread use of this term can be seen in the following examples:³

1. AE 1984: 654 states that votive offerings in the Temple of Jupiter Maximus in the *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (Köln) were '*locus datus decreto decurionum*';
2. CIL I² 3188 = AE 1967: 96 dedicates a Republican bath in Herdonia (Apulia/Calabria) '*ex decreto decurionum*';
3. CIL X 1784 = ILS 6334 from Puteoli awards a public funeral, ten pounds of incense and three statues to be erected for Gavia Marcia;
4. CIL V 2856 gave permission for L. Perpena Amiantus to erect columns on public land beyond the city gate of Patavium;
5. CIL XI 3614 = ILS 5918a allowed a freedman named Vesbinus to build a *phetrinum* for the *Augustales* on land provided by the town of Caere (cf. Palmer 1970: 60);
6. CIL XI 3805 = ILS 6579 makes C. Iulius Gelos, a freedman of Augustus an *Augustalis* and confers other special privileges in the community of Veii.

What all of these texts have in common is that the local governing body has issued a decree granting permission for some action, most often the use of public land. Similar texts are found in Pompeii—more than sixty of them by Cooley's calculation (2012: 10)—in the forum (CIL X 789–791; 793), the large theatre (CIL X 837), the amphitheatre (CIL X 853–857), temples (CIL X 797; CIL X 814; 849), and in honorific dedications to the Imperial family (CIL X 799; 932). The texts from the amphitheatre, for example, record various magistrates or groups such as the *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* who paid for the installation of stone seats in the amphitheatre by decree of the decurions. This clearly has nothing to do with a gift provided by the *ordo* as is suggested in relation to the tombs but, rather, indicates the granting of permission for the project (Frederiksen 1976: 352; Welch 2007: 75).

In a study of the honorific statue bases of *fora* in Roman North Africa, Zimmer (1989) suggests that it was up to the *decuriones* to determine if a person to whom some private individual wished to dedicate a statue was worthy of the honour and what location in the forum was warranted by the dedicatee's status. The inscriptions he has studied from three towns in North Africa have a greater tendency to use the phrase '*d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*' or provide some other indication of who actually paid for the dedication (Zimmer 1989: 20; 41; 54; 59). The evidence from the African provinces is in line with other inclusions of the phrase, which indicate that the town council had authorized a public work or approved some undertaking and that those involved have erected an inscription to record their own role (Sherk 1970: 79).

Across the range of inscriptions that contain the phrase, what is shown is that the *ordo* is authorising the act of a private citizen. This is honorary in most cases, but the majority is quite clear in stating that this was not, as previously believed, a gift of the town but, rather, the approval for someone

else to pay for and erect a statue, inscription, or other type of monument. Chelotti states that the phrase indicates the use of public land for putting up some kind of honorific inscription: 'Il testo delle iscrizioni onorarie si struttura, come di consueto, con il nome e la carriera dell'onorato, poi viene indicato il motivo dell'elevazione della statua, infine i dedicanti seguiti dalla formula dell'autorizzazione' (2006: 146; 148). This usually consisted of memorials of some sort to wives, or husbands, or children (Sherk 1970: 80–81). Whether a statue, altar, or, indeed, funerary monument, the *decretum decurionum* was authorization, usually provided to a friend or relative of the deceased, for using public land (Sherk 1970: 74; Chelotti 2006: 148; Fasolini 2013; Nicols 2014: 228). *CIL* X 1782 from Puteoli, for example, gives permission to a freedman to erect a statue for L. Annius Modestus in a place assigned by the *duoviri*. After all, public spaces, for example, the forum, were considered the most appropriate place for the celebration of civic memory through honorific constructions (Branchesi 2006: 158–159). Although it was possible to receive public land without charge from the town council for a tomb, which was considered a lesser distinction than a public funeral, it is not to say that every occurrence of the *decretum decurionum* necessarily indicated an actual gift, funded by the city (Nicolini and Pistellato 2006: 193). Indeed, the ambiguity in the phrase may be intended by the person who put up the text. The inscription given earlier (*CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334) not only awards a public funeral, incense, and statues but also specifies the father of the honoured girl paid for the statues out of his own funds. However, 'the decree still had to contain permission for the use of the land on which the statues were erected' (Sherk 1970: 75). Regardless of whether a statue was paid for publicly or privately, if it was put up on public land, authorization needed to be granted by the council (Cooley 2012: 29). A decree from Cales gives permission for an inscription to be added to a statue that had previously been erected (*CIL* X 4643), demonstrating how closely monitored public space could be (Sherk 1970: 74).⁴ Although such honorific monuments were more often than not paid for privately, some certainly were funded with public money, which was considered to be a much greater honour (Sherk 1970: 79). A public initiative paid for by public money could be indicated in an inscription using the formula *p(ecunia) p(ublica) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (Chelotti 2006: 148). Apuleius, when awarded an honorific statue by decree of the Carthaginian senate, seems disappointed that it should be paid for by his friend and suggests that it would be an even greater honour if the Senate would erect a second statue, paid for out of public funds (Apul. *Flor.* 16.35–46; Lee 2005: 145–146).

The majority of the inscriptions found across the Empire that contain some variant of the phrase *ex decreto decurionum* are, in fact, indicative that authorization has been provided by the local *ordo* to establish some type of honorific dedication, most often on public land. The 'concern for public and official recognition is confirmed by the fact that close to eighty per cent of the surviving inscriptions and statue bases were authorized by

the community' either by a decree of decurions, a decision by the citizens, or both together (Nicols 2014: 274). Liebemann (1900: 379–382) implies that permission was necessary regardless of any financial contribution from the public. The identification of public land, and the legal issues that surround forms of commemoration, therefore, must also be addressed.

The Laws of Commemoration, Public Land, and Surveying

There is, unfortunately, a general lack of evidence in Roman law that relates specifically to the matter at hand. Burial law tends to focus on issues of general location and access rights for both burial and future maintenance of the site. Like the Twelve Tables, evidence found in the municipal charters from the provinces, such as the *lex Iulia Coloniae Genetivae*, provide regulations for the location of burials beyond the city limits and for cremation in similar locales, including the fines inflicted for violation, but gives no indication of how the land used for burial was distributed, either by town donation or privately arranged purchase (Table X.1; *ILS* 6087; Robinson 1975: 182; Crawford 1996: 424). The extramural territory of a town was constantly being added to by donations and bequests by private citizens who gave land for public use, rendering it difficult if not impossible to determine what was or was not public land at any specific time (Branchesi 2006: 170). The designation as public or private land is not static by any means, and what is private property at one point in time could become public in a subsequent generation. The nature of the land could and did change: in addition to land donated to the town by testament, there was a considerable amount of buying and selling between families (Gallina 1997: 207). As the law states, the only proscription on these transfers was that a religious site remained sacred. Carroll has suggested that the only regularly sized plots found in an ancient necropolis are the result of a benefactor or speculator buying new land for development that can then be sold in uniform plots (Carroll 2006: 98). Evidence of this may be found on the Via Celimontana in Rome, where all tombs are twenty feet deep, but the widths of the individual plots differ depending on the expenditure of the purchaser (von Hesberg 1987: 46, fig. 5).

The law also deals with specific issues of *locus religiosus* (Engels 1998: 162–163), sacred spaces, and lawfulness or rights of burial (Berger 1953: 510–511, 533, 568, 656, 679, 701; Robinson 1975), but not land ownership as specifically related to tombs. A variety of prescriptions make a site *religiosus* that relate to locations of usufruct (*D.* 11.7.2.7), servitude (*D.* 11.7.2.8), if the land is part of an unsettled legacy (*D.* 11.7.34), or in the case of more than one burial site for an individual (*D.* 11.7.44). A further distinction is that '[n]ot all of the place chosen for burial becomes *religiosus*, but only as much of it as covers the body' (*D.* 11.7.2.5). Once a place was deemed a *locus religiosus*, however, it remained so in perpetuity (*D.* 11.7.12.1). Cicero relates how this, as prescribed by the tenth of the Twelve

Tables, results in the disinterment and reburial of remains located beyond the Colline Gate in Rome that had to be relocated after a temple was constructed, turning the area into a public place (*De Leg.* 2.58). Crook states that public authority had little to do with sepulchral law as once a place became *locus religiosus*, it was subject to divine, not human law (1967: 133, 135). The site falls under the blanket of *res religiosas*, which could not be the object of a legal transaction, and in fact becomes *extra commercium* (Berger 1953: 679). Crook claims the only real proscription placed on a tomb by civil law was as an issue of property and access as well as the continuance of the location as a sacred site (*D.* 8.1.14.1; *D.* 11.8.1.5). In other words, once a tomb, always a tomb (Crook 1967: 135). The *Digest* emphasizes the desire for tombs, stating '[n]obody is prevented from building a tomb or monument where he has a right to' (*D.* 11.8.1.7), in part because it is 'in the interests of religion that funeral monuments be built and ornamented' (*D.* 11.8.1.6). The only other prescriptions known are those that actually determine the type of tomb as to who had a right to inherit the burial place. Tombs were classified as either *familiaria sepulchra*, in which the right to burial descended through the family, or as *sepulchra hereditaria*, in which the right to burial passed to other named heirs (*D.* 11.7.5; Watson 1984: 8).

Since there is nothing that addresses the specific question of tombs and land acquisition or ownership, it is necessary to look at the laws in regard to similar structures, such as statues and monuments. The *Digest* states that a 'monument is something which exists to preserve memory' (*D.* 11.7.2.6), or as Häusle (1980) states, '[d]ie Memoria ist demnach die finale Bestimmung des Monumentes' Häusle (1980: 32–33) suggests that in addition to a three dimensional structure, any art or literature that preserves the memory is also a monument (Horace *Odes* 3.30). A letter of Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 9.19) debates this, discussing the idea of Frontinus's belief that he will be remembered without a physical monument if he deserves it. Pliny questions this by asking, 'Do you really think that it shows more reticence to publish throughout the world that your memory will live on, than to record your achievement in a single place in a mere couple of lines?' Häusle further defines a monument as something for posterity that is a memorial (*cenotaph*), unless it contains corporeal remains, at which point it becomes a tomb (*D.* 11.7.42). A statue therefore, if it was meant to preserve memory, could be deemed as a monument, or possibly even a *cenotaph*. Mednikarova (1999: 120) supports this notion by stating that 'the bestowing of a funerary monument, not unlike the erection of a public monument, is explicitly presented as an act of honouring.' If a statue was erected in a public place, it became public and was protected against removal by a private individual (*D.* 41.1.41; Watson 1984: 12–13), or could be deemed to belong to the person to whom it was dedicated (*D.* 42.5.29; Watson 1984: 13). If a statue was placed in a town with the 'intent that it should become the property of the town' and then the dedicator wished to remove it he would be prevented from doing so (*D.* 44.1.23). What is clear is that a statue is a moveable thing, (i.e. it was

not a permanent structure, its location could change without causing it damage or necessitating rebuilding), and therefore, the ground underneath it does not leave the ownership of the *municipes*. If the statue were to be moved, the land itself could be used once again by the town for another purpose (D. 7.1.41). In simpler terms, the land was on loan for the duration of the time the statue was in that location and would revert to the town if the statue were removed. Regardless of whether an object was moveable, in order for a statue to be placed initially, permission had to be sought from the *decuriones* (D. 35.1.14; D. 43.9.2). As noted previously, the *Digest* does distinguish between a monument and a tomb (D. 11.7.42; D. 11.8.1.7), but, because monuments, like statues, were commemorative in nature, it can be assumed that some of the same rules apply and a monument, if moveable, remains the property of the giver, but if no longer moveable, as in the case of a tomb, would become the property of the owner of the ground on which it stood, whether it was publicly or privately owned. As soon as human remains are placed in such a monument, however, it becomes *religiosus* and all ownership is extinguished (D. 11.8.1.5).

Regardless of ownership, consent of the *ordo* was required for building in a public space. The fact that the phrase is included on a variety of structures and dedicated monuments ranging from amphitheatre steps to votive offerings to tombs to honorific statues, found in all corners of the Empire, suggests that this is merely an indication of standard permission sought from the local magistrates in conjunction with building in a public space. If one did not get permission, it is possible the structure would be allowed to remain intact. The *Digest* states that, if one were not specifically forbidden to construct on public land, the person would not have to demolish for fear of ruins disfiguring the city, but that, if one built in defiance of a praetorial edict, the edict would be enforced regardless of appearance (D. 43.8.7). It is likely, then, that most individuals would have been aware that carrying out construction on public land could be problematic without obtaining permission first. The fact remains that we have no evidence if such an edict was issued in Pompeii prior to the ruling of Vespasian in the post-earthquake years that reclaimed public land, but even then it is difficult to determine if any structures were removed from the area that had been encroached upon. There is, for example, some evidence to suggest the destruction of a tomb in the space where PE1 currently stands, but it is impossible to determine from the little that remains when the original tomb was built or when it was destroyed, only that this clearly occurred before the AD 60s when PE1 was constructed. In all likelihood, in building an expensive structure such as a tomb, it was probably not worth taking the risk of upsetting the *decuriones* by doing so without permission.

An additional legal technicality in terms of a *cenotaph* causes further complications. If a *cenotaph* is not a *locus religiosus*, then there should be no legal prohibition as to its location (D. 11.7.6.1). If it is specifically to preserve the memory and contains no remains, it is classed as a monument

and is therefore no different from a statue. That is, technically, one could be constructed within the *pomerium* or city walls. Toynbee, however, suggests that a *cenotaph* was used if the body was lost at sea or in battle to provide a dwelling place for the soul, to which it had to be ritually invited (1971: 54; Verg. *Aen.* 6.505–506).⁵ If Frischer is correct in his assessment that all save one of the tombs at the Porta di Ercolano containing the phrase *decreto decurionum* were actually *cenotaphia*, and were therefore not *loca religiosa*, that should, in theory, have an impact on the possible locations for construction. This would, however, be impossible to prove without fully excavating the areas around and underneath these tombs, which would necessitate destroying them.

Finally, the *Digest* specifically outlines funeral expenses to include ‘any expenditure on the body, the cost of the place where the deceased is buried, and any rent which has to be paid’ (my emphasis; *D.* 11.7.37). It further cites a re-script by Hadrian clarifying that the construction of a large funerary monument was not included in the cost of a funeral (*D.* 11.7.37.1). If land is considered part of the expense of a funeral, then it seems unlikely that the *ordo* would make a gift of the land and then provide additional funds towards funeral expenses that were normally expected to be used to procure the same land. This suggests a sort of double payment that seems unlikely in light of the other evidence that suggests the *decretum decurionum* is an administrative regulation of public land.

The *Decretum Decurionum* in Pompeian Epitaphs

Eighteen surviving funerary inscriptions from Pompeii indicate a *decretum decurionum*. These inscriptions are found in all five of the *necropoleis*. There are two issues of concern with these epitaphs: the designation of public land and the exact nature of the decree recorded, both of which are addressed.

The spatial arrangement of the extant Pompeian funerary inscriptions that contain the phrase *ex decreto decurionum* does give some indication of the location of public land. If we address the tombs at each gate individually, it is clear that the distribution of the majority of the inscriptions do occur within thirty metres of the city wall. At the Porta di Ercolano, the tombs in the first thirty metres on the south side of the road for which primary inscriptions survive (PE1–PE4, PE7) all contain a variation of the *decretum decurionum*. Both PE5 and PE6 have no surviving primary inscription, only a few inscribed *columellae*, none of which includes this type of decree. PE8 is too fragmented to be sure one way or another; PE9 through PE14 do not contain this phrase and are beyond the thirty-metre distance demarcating public land. The evidence on the north side of the road is unfortunately lacking: most of the tombs within thirty metres do not have surviving epitaphs (PE28–29, PE31–32, PE34). In addition, PE26 and PE27 do not have inscriptions but are also connected to the Villa of the Mosaic Columns,

making their designation on public or private land more difficult to determine without epigraphic evidence. Only two of the monuments on the north side of the Via di Sepolcri have inscriptions: one (PE33) does contain the phrase, but the other (PE30)⁶ does not. There is one further occurrence in this necropolis that must be considered, in an area that is problematic in terms of determining public land. The tomb (PE21) is situated on the triangle of land that sits at the fork in the road. Whilst it would be easy to assume that this spit of land could be public because of its location in between two roads, the lack of a similar inclusion of a decree on the only other tomb with an extant inscription (PE24) renders this a weak argument. Turning to the other *necropoleis* around the city, for all of those gates that have not been fully excavated, revealing only tombs within the first thirty metres from the city wall, the extant inscriptions all contain a *decretum decurionum* (PV1–4, PN1–2, PS1–2). Porta di Nocera, however, remains more difficult to assess. First, it is important to note that two of the inscriptions displaying this phrase were not found in their original locations (PNc29 and PNc37) and thus have no bearing on determining public land. The *cippus* erected by Titus Suedius Clemens that is used to demarcate the farthest boundary of public land sits in the middle of the crossroads between the ring road and the road leading from the city.⁷ If this is the original location of the *cippus*, then it would indicate that all of the tombs on the north-eastern side of the road are on public land. However, of these twenty-four tombs, inscriptions survive for only seven tombs. Of these, two can be discounted as they are on *columellae* (PNc4, PNc8), and four do not contain the phrase *decreto decurionum* (PNc2, PNc11, PNc15, PNc23). The only monument on this side of the road that includes a decree in the inscription is PNc16. This clearly makes the Porta di Nocera *necropolis* the most problematic because there is no discernible pattern for the location of public land as is found in the other *necropoleis*, and it is possible that all of the tombs here sit beyond the thirty-metre boundary used to demarcate public land.

Regarding the epitaphs themselves, they can be broken down into four distinct groups based on the content of the text. Some are fairly simple, including nothing more than the phrase ‘*ex decreto decurionum*’ (Table 5.1).⁸

Of these four inscriptions, three are on *cippi* that demarcate the boundaries of the burial plot (PE3, PNc16, and PS1). Those of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus include the measurements of the land they hold, demonstrating that these *cippi* served as boundary markers. What is clear from the limited text on these *cippi* is that these inscriptions are not the primary epitaphs for the tombs, which normally would have contained more extensive information, including the standard *cursus honorum* expected of men of their status as all are well known from other contexts, having been magistrates responsible for various public building works in Pompeii. The tomb of Marcus Tullius, for example, has a base at the midpoint of his

Table 5.1 'Ex decreto decurionum'

Tomb	Name	Date	Public Land	Text
PE2	Aulus Veius	Augustan	Yes	<i>A(ulo) Veio M(arci) f(ilio) Ilvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / iter(um) quinq(uennali) trib(un)o / milit(um) ab popul(o) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PE3	Marcus Porcius	Late Republican	Yes	<i>M(arci) Porci / M(arci) f(ili) ex dec(urionum) / decret(o). In / frontem / ped(es) XXV / in agrum / ped(es) XXV.</i>
PNc16	Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus	Augustan/ Julio-Claudian	Yes	<i>L(uci) Sepuni L(uci) f(ili) / Sandili[ani]. / I<n> frontem / p(edes) XX, in a[g]r[um] / [p](edes) XX. Publice / datum ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PS1	Marcus Tullius	Augustan	Yes	<i>M(arco) Tullio / M(arci) f(ilio) / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>

schola tomb that probably held an inscription much like those on other *scholae* of similar design (PE2, PV3, PN2).

There are only two tombs that include the phrase '*locus datus ex decreto decurionum*' (Table 5.2). One of these inscriptions was found in the tomb of Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus (PE1), which is physically the monument found closest to the city wall in Pompeii, a location which undoubtedly falls into the scope of public land. The other text, however, is problematic in terms of its original location and the identification of the deceased it was meant to commemorate. This inscription is on the reverse of, with the text running perpendicular to, a *columella* dedicated to a public swineherd named Clodia Nigella. The reuse of the material is dated to between AD 50 and 79, but it is not possible to determine the date it was first used. What this does indicate, however, is not only that materials from other tombs were reused, but also that having a '*decretum decurionum*' does not necessarily indicate such a high honour that a tomb would remain inviolate or be protected in any way from future degradation.

A more specific rendering of the '*decretum decurionum*' is found in the epitaph of six individuals (Table 5.3). Three of these examples state that the place of the sepulchre or monument was given by a decree (PE4, PV1, and PNc29). The others, however, are given publically (PE21, PN2, and PS2). This adverb *publice* appears in other literary contexts as an indication of an official act or deputation (Cic. *In Piso*. 51; cf. *Ad Att.*

Table 5.2 ‘*Locus datus ex decreto decurionum*’

Tomb	Name	Date	Public Land	Text
PE1	Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus	AD 62–70	Yes	<i>M(arcus) Cerrinius / Restitutus / augustalis. Loc(us) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PNc37	Unknown	<i>terminus ante quem</i> AD 50–79	?	<i>[Loco dat]o ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).⁹</i>

Table 5.3 ‘*Locus sepulturae / monumenti datus ex decreto decurionum*’

Tomb	Name	Date	Public Land	Text
PE4	Mammia	Augustan	Yes	<i>M[am]miae P(ubli) f(iliae) sacerdoti publicae locus sepultur(ae) datus decurionum decreto.</i>
PE21	Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella	Julio-Claudian	?	<i>M(arco) Alleio Luccio Libellae patri / aedili l(vir)o praefecto quinq(uen)nali et / M(arco) Alleio Libellae f(ilio) decurioni. Vixit / annis XVII. Locus monumenti / publice datus est. Alleia M(arci) f(ilia) / Decimilla sacerdos publica / Cereris faciundum curavit viro / et filio.¹¹</i>
PV1	Marcus Veius Marcellus	AD 62–79	Yes	<i>M(arco) Veio Marcello / vivo locus monumenti / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PN2	Aesquillia Polla	AD 62–79	Yes	<i>N(umerius) Herennius N(umeri) f(ilius) Men(enia) / Celsus d(uo) v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) praef(ectus) / fabr(or)um / Aesquilliae C(ai) f(iliae) Pollae / uxori. Vixit annos XXII. / Locus sepulturae publice datus / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PNc29 ¹²	[M He] rennius [Epid] ianus	Augustan	?	<i>[M(arco) He]rennius A(uli) [f(ilio)] / [Epi]diano II vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / [l]ocu(s) monumento / [h]onoris caussa / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
PS2	Marcus Alleius Minius	Augustan	Yes	<i>M(arco) Alleio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Minio II v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) locus sepulturae publice datus ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>

166), and can refer to the use of public amenities.¹⁰ In his commentary on Cicero's *In Pisonem*, Asconius refers to houses being built with public funds, stating that the houses were 'not their own, but put up at public cost on their behalf' (Asconius *In Pisonianam* §52 22–29). This is akin to the use of public land in Pompeii for poor burials between the Porta di Nola and the Porta di Sarno that was provided by the town to those who could not afford to provide for their own burial (Appendix 3; Kockel 1983: 13; Wesch-Klein 1993: 60; Senatore 1999: 96–99). The implication is that something was provided, publicly, that the individual did not otherwise have a right to. In terms of the inscriptions listed above, this likely means the commissioner of the tomb was granted access to use land that was publicly held, and therefore not available for private use without authorization.

The final category of funerary epitaphs that contain the '*decretum decurionum*' do indicate other gifts to the individuals named in conjunction with the authorization to use public land (Table 5.4). The majority of these include a specified sum of money to contribute to the expense of the funeral (PE7, PE33, PV2, PV4, and PN1). Marcus Obellius Firmus (PN1) receives additional gifts of incense, perfume, and shields, but these come from the pagani and ministers, not from public funds (Wesch-Klein 1993: 67). Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (PE7) receives an equestrian statue in the forum, which was probably paid for by a family member once the *ordo* had granted permission for its erection. The highest accolade is found in the dedication to Arellia Tertulla (PV3), who is the only Pompeian in the surviving evidence to have received a public funeral, paid for by '*pecunia publica*.' The rarity of a *funus publicum* in Rome is the subject of one of Cicero's many speeches, in which he asks the senate to ignore the laws limiting funerary expenditure and grant a public funeral for Servius Sulpicius Rufus (Cic. *Phil.* 9.13–17). That there is only one extant inscription detailing this level of award in Pompeii illustrates that, as in Rome, a public funeral is a rare occurrence. Likewise, the award of money towards a funeral, whilst more common than a public funeral, is still limited to a relatively small number of individuals (PE33 *CIL* X 1019; PE7 *CIL* X 1024; PV2 *AE* 1911: 72; PV4 *AE* 1913: 7; PN1 De Franciscis 1976: 246).

One final aspect in relation to the true meaning of the *decretum decurionum* to consider is that if it was indeed a gift, an honour for distinguished members of the population, then it would certainly have been awarded to others whose tombs are found in Pompeii. There are a number of funerary inscriptions to members of the ruling elite, magistrates, priestesses, and *Augustales*, which do not contain this phrase (PE11, PE13, PE15, PE19, PNc2, PNc40, PNc43, PNc54, PNc61). I would argue, however, that this omission is not because these individuals were not meritorious, but rather because their tombs are not located on public land, and therefore, they had no need to seek authorization from the town council.

Table 5.4 '*Locus sepulturae / monumenti datus ex decreto decurionum*' and Other Gifts

Tomb	Name	Date	Public Land	Text
PE7	Aulus Umbricius Scaurus	AD 14–62	?	<i>A(ulo) Umbricio A(uli) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) / Scauro / IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo). / Huic decuriones locum monum(enti) / et (sestertium) $\subset$duo milia$\supset$ in funere et statuam equestr(em) / [in f]loro ponendam censuerunt. / Scaurus pater filio.</i>
PE33	Titus Terentius Felix Maior	Augustan/ early Julio- Claudian	Yes	<i>T(ito) Terentio T(iti) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) / Felici Maiori aedil(i). / Huic publice locus / datus et (sestertium) $\subset$duo milia$\supset$ / Fabia Probi f(ilia) Sabina uxor.</i>
PV2	Gaius Vestorius Priscus	AD 70–71	Yes	<i>C(aio) Vestorio Prisco aedil(i). / Vixit annis XXII. / Locus sepulturae datus et in / funere (sestertium) $\subset$duo milia$\supset$ / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). / Mulvia Prisca mater p(ecunia) s(ua).</i>
PV3	Arellia Tertulla	Augustan	Yes	<i>[A]relliae N(umeri) f(iliae) Tertullae / Vei Frontonis. Huic decurion(es) / locum sepulturae post mortem / dederunt et funus ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) / decre[verunt].</i>
PV4	Septumia	Augustan	Yes	<i>Septumiae L(uci) f(iliae) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / locus sepulturae publice / datus et in funere (sestertium) $\subset$duo milia$\supset$. / Antistia P(ubli) f(ilia) Prima filia / fecit.</i>
PN1	Marcus Obellius Firmus	AD 62–79	Yes	<i>M(arco) Obellio M(arci) f(ilio) Firmo aedili / IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) huic decuriones loc(um) / sepulturae et in funer(ibus) (sestertium) $\subset$quinque milia$\supset$ censuer(unt) Pagani / thuris p(ondera) XXX et clupeum ministr(i) eor(um) in odorib(us) (sestertium) $\subset$mille$\supset$ et clupeum.</i>

BOUNDARY STONES AND BURIAL PLOTS

There is considerable evidence that, in addition to seeking permission from the town council through a *decretum decurionum* for building on public land, the land used for burial in the *necropoleis* of Pompeii were further regulated through the use of boundary stones. Found in association with tombs

at the Porta di Ercolano, Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, and Porta di Nocera, *cippi*, typically made of local lava stone, mark the limits of burial plots.

Marking Boundaries

Boundary marking is an important theme throughout the texts of the *agrimensores*, as surveyors were concerned with ‘defin[ing] clearly the means by which a landholder could identify and record the extent and location of his land’ (Campbell 2005: 179). The *gromatici* state that ‘[b]oundary stones are so called because they mark out and reveal the boundary lines on the land. They are regarded as proof of boundaries, and therefore disputes and arguments over land are removed’ (*de finibus agrorum* L366.18, 2–4). Disputes did occur, of course, and are well attested. In the Republican period, land disputes were settled by *demonstratio finium*, where respected members of the community decided the limits of the land under question (Daube 1957; Cuomo 2007: 104). In the Imperial period, this method was no longer considered sufficient, and disputes could only be settled by a surveyor who possessed the expertise to arbitrate the disagreement.¹³ *Agrimensores* were expected to be versed in the laws relating to land, the status of various types of land, and of course geometrical, mapping, and surveying techniques (Dilke 1971: 16; Cuomo 2007: 104). That a political authority such as a government appointed surveyor was serving in this capacity is evident from epigraphic evidence found across the empire (*CIL* III 749, 12407, 14422; Cuomo 2007: 122).

Likewise, the government was eager to maintain control of its land, as was demonstrated when Vespasian decided to reclaim *subseciva*, land that was left unallocated in the original settlement of a territory, as a means to generate income (Agennius Urbicus *De Controversiis Agrorum* T40.24 [L81.7 = 53.16] 15–23; Dilke 1971: 41; Campbell 2000: lvi).¹⁴ This lends further weight to the idea that public land was heavily regulated, as discussed at length by the *agrimensores*:

A dispute about territorial jurisdiction occurs when some private individual wishes improperly to impinge on the *pomerium* of a city with private works, or greedily tries to usurp land from public areas, that is, areas belonging to the city itself. The *pomerium* of a city is a space measured out with definite dimensions in front of the walls. Moreover, in some cities a space of similar area is established inside the walls in order to protect the foundations. ‘Which should not be occupied by private buildings.’ This is a place that cannot by any legal means be removed from public ownership. Now, it has two categories; one relates to land attached to the town, the other to land in the countryside; land attached to the town is what was allocated to support the urban fabric. Land in the countryside is what was granted or set aside for public works.

(*Incip. De Controversiis* T64.10 = L17.7, 24–34)

This land in the countryside (or at least beyond the walls of a city) is where the tombs of the city were built. Tombs themselves could be used as boundary markers or have their own around them (Hyginus II *De Sepulchris* L271.1, 11–26). It was not unusual for the size of a burial plot to be demarcated by boundary markers, usually thick, upright stone slabs (*cippi* or *stelae*) with a rounded top that bore an inscription with the name of the deceased and dimensions of the burial plot, examples of which survive in Italy, Gaul, and Spain (Toynbee 1971: 75; Candida 1979: 6; Kleiner 1987: 23–24; Carroll 2006: 99). Frontinus wrote that ‘tombs include within their legal control the gardens surrounding them, or a designated domain’ (T9.11 = L22.7, 9). This implies that the area under the jurisdiction of a tomb owner extended beyond the structure of the monument itself, and as such, protecting that allocated land from usurpation would have required some sort of marker. These could have been made of an organic material such as wood but more often were stone. Siculus Flaccus wrote that

in certain regions some people set up flint boundary stones, others use different material. Some indeed take care to import some sort of non-native stones, so that it is obvious that the stones were set up deliberately as boundary markers. Some use finished, others inscribed stones; some even set up stones marked with numbers; others merely place the stones at projecting bends, or at very short intervals, others at longer intervals; many others place them equidistantly. In some regions people placed two stones at all the turns, so that each one faced its own boundary line.

(*De Conditionibus Agrorum* T103.2 = L139.2, 8–14)

The *gromatici* also describe stones which recorded the owner of a territory on each side, which could be triangular or round if it was a junction where three or four properties met (Dilke 1971: 99). Earlier in the Republican period, upright cylindrical stones were used, which similarly, bore a cross representing the junction of the four squares of a grid with the names of the commissioners around the stone (Hyg. 71f.; 158f.; CIL I² 639–645, 719; Lintott 1992: 40).

Placing a boundary stone, much like burial itself, was a ritual that included making sacrifices and offerings, and much like violating a tomb, moving a boundary stone was considered both a religious and a civic offense (Dilke 1971: 98–99). The *agrimensores* knew ‘that whatever sacred places, tombs, shrines, public and local aqueducts, fountains, public and local ditches were in existence . . . should always be of the same legal status in every respect as they had been before’ (Hyginus I *De Conditionibus Agrorum* T81.19 = L118.16, 42–46). Thus, it would seem particularly important to mark the limits of such places, including tombs, accordingly, so their boundaries could not be violated.

Boundary Markers in Pompeian Necropoleis

Four of the *necropoleis*¹⁵ around Pompeii contain *cippi* of local volcanic stone that demarcate the boundaries of funerary plots (Appendix 2). These *cippi* adhere to many of the principles outlined earlier: they are typically spaced quite regularly, show some attempt to alter the stone to a uniform shape or height, and often appear on corners of the tombs. The vast majority have one finished face, that is, a side that has been smoothed to relative flatness¹⁶ that would have been an ideal surface for an inscription, whether it was painted or carved. The flat or finished face is always facing outwards, away from the tomb to which it belongs, usually towards the street. Every tomb that has these *cippi* associated with it is a free-standing monument and is not a structure placed within a distinct walled enclosure (such as *scholae*, *aediculae*, and *tholoi*). Roughly a third of the tombs in Pompeii have an enclosure, but none of those have any *cippi* of this type. Where there are *cippi* that can be definitively associated with a tomb, the *cippi* are aligned with the dimensions of the structure, clearly serving to define a protracted area of land that is an extension of the tomb property. Likewise, those with no tomb associated with the *cippi* mark out a plot of sufficient dimensions that could have conceivably held a tomb at some future, but never realised, date. The area just beyond the tombs at the Porta del Vesuvio, for example, contains three *cippi* that mark an area more than four metres in length, which would have been suitable for a modest-sized structure.

Only a few of the boundary marking *cippi* found in association with Pompeian tombs are inscribed. All name the commissioner of the tomb as well as the dimensions of the burial plot (PE3, PNc16, PNc42). These are typically found in pairs, but in all three of these instances, the second *cippus* is no longer *in situ*, making it impossible to do more than estimate the size and direction of the claimed territory. One further example found at the Porta di Stabia (PS1) does have two *cippi in situ*, built into part of the enclosure wall, but the inscription names the occupant of the tomb and does not include the dimensions of the burial plot. The vast majority of the *cippi* are anaepigraphic, but as the *columellae* were found to bear traces of pigment under chemical analysis, it is quite likely that many more of these *cippi* once had painted inscriptions which are now lost.

Equal Distribution (PNc7)

In front of a *tholos* tomb at the Porta di Nocera necropolis are found two *cippi in situ*: one on the west corner of the podium, and one in the middle (Figure 5.1). The distance between these *cippi* is 1.62 metres. The distance from the edge of the central *cippus* to the eastern edge of the tomb is 1.68 metres farther. The nearly symmetrical distances from one *cippus* on the western corner to the centred stone to the eastern edge of the structure suggests that a third stone was originally placed on the



Figure 5.1 PNc7 boundary-marking *cippi*

east corner of the tomb. As the façade of the tomb itself measures 3.57 metres in length, the difference in the calculated distance marked by three *cippi* is only marginally different, by 0.27 metres. As the width of the missing *cippus* is not known, but was probably similar in dimensions to the other two (measuring between 0.26 and 0.32 metres in width), this would make the overall length of the boundary indicated by *cippi* analogous to the tomb. In all probability, the third *cippus* was removed when the enclosure wall of PNc8 was built. This wall, which post-dates PNc7, was built directly abutting the older tomb, and thus, the eastern *cippus* would have been in the way of construction.

Division of Property (PNc35 and PNc37)

One of the older tombs at the Porta di Nocera, PNc35, has large lava *cippi* on two sides of the structure: two each on the north and east sides, with a fifth stone joining them at the north-east corner. All lava, they are fairly uniform in size, shape and distance from the tomb walls. But while the three that run the length of the east side of the tomb are well aligned with the



Figure 5.2 PNC35 and PNC37 boundary-marking *cippi*

structure itself, those across the north façade are slightly more difficult to explain (Figure 5.2). At first glance, it appears that the *cippi* are also used to demarcate the area of the neighbouring tomb, PNC37. However, closer inspection reveals this is not the case—the western-most *cippus* in front of PNC37 falls short of the terminus of the façade wall by approximately 0.20 metres.

There is, however, an explanation for this asymmetrical placement. PNC35 dates to the late Republican period, and as was typical of that time in Pompeii, has no tomb chamber. But excavation revealed that there were cinerary urns and libation tubes at the rear, which could be accessed from the plot of land to the west. This is a perfect example of the garden or other designated domain Frontinus attested to: the western-most *cippus* demarcated a larger area than the built structure itself, and it was likely through this area that access was gained to the urns for pouring libations. PNC37, which stands on this parcel of land now, was built in the last years before Vesuvius's eruption, and structurally can be seen as a fill-in, taking advantage of a small, somewhat irregular space between two pre-existing tombs (PNC35 and PNC38). This likely occurred after the heirs of the older tomb died off themselves, when access to honour the dead ritual offerings was no longer needed.

Protecting Access (PV2)

The four tombs at the Porta del Vesuvio all have *cippi* marking their boundaries, with some additional markers further to the north and east that may have marked burial areas that were never used. The most perplexing of these *cippi* are those found between tombs PV1 and PV2. Both tombs have a series of three stones running along the façade of the tombs, but there is also a line of four *cippi* that run in between the two monuments, on the east side of PV1 and the west side of PV2. These stones do not appear to be in alignment with each other, much less with either one of the tombs. Furthermore, as both tombs were built in the last decade of the city, it is not possible to draw conclusions based on a relative chronology of construction. The first *cippus* in the line is closest to the south-west corner of PV2 (the tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus), and the fourth and final *cippus* is only 0.12 metres from PV1 (the tomb of Marcus Veius Marcellus).

However, on closer inspection, the *cippi* adhere to the general trend in Pompeii of having one, outward facing, relatively flat face. In the case of these four markers, this face is pointed towards PV1, away from PV2. Furthermore, when the stones are viewed from their inner, rather than outer edges, the alignment becomes clear. By starting from the south-west corner of the front-most *cippus*, a straight line can be drawn northwards along the inside (east) edge of the other three *cippi* (Figure 5.3). What this actually does, in conjunction with the *cippi* along the façade of the tomb, is create a distinct pathway along the front and side of the tomb.

In its topographical context within the cemetery, PV2 directly abuts PV3 at the eastern wall. As PV3 dates to the Augustan period, the relative chronology indicates that the commissioner of Priscus's tomb chose to place it in close proximity to the pre-existing structure on the eastern side. This actually explains the protected pathway, in that his tomb, like many, has an interior chamber, in fact one much famed for its Fourth-style wall paintings, which is accessible from a door in the rear wall. Gaining access to the chamber, as would be necessary for carrying out the various rituals required as part of the religious calendar throughout the year, would only be possible if one could walk down the western side of the tomb. Despite legislation, as recorded in the *Digest*, that access to a tomb would always be protected by law even if the heirs of the deceased did not own the land immediately around the structure, the owners of this monument used boundary-marking *cippi* to guarantee that access, physically demarcating the boundary of their property so that it could not be infringed upon, either by the neighbour to the west or by any new tomb builders at a later date.

When a piece of land was initially allocated to an individual or family for burial, it had to be marked or set apart in some way in order to ensure that it was not used illegally by someone else, or encroached upon by someone constructing something on the neighbouring parcel of land. For many, it seems likely that these boundary stones, or a less permanent marker, were

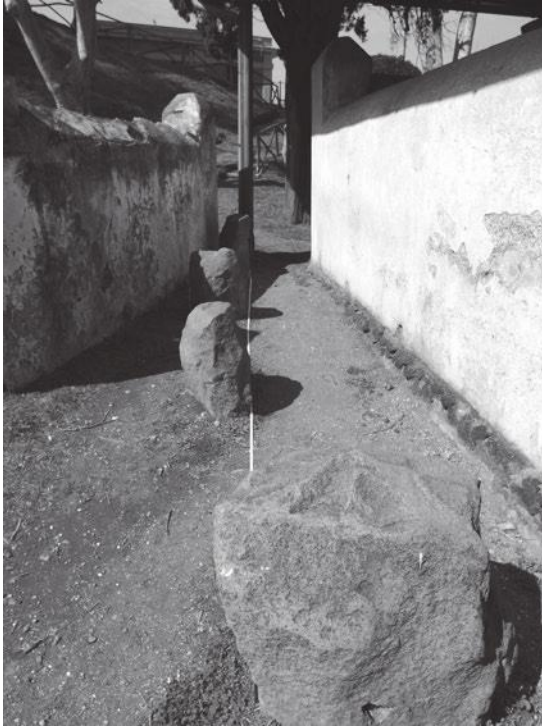


Figure 5.3 PV2 boundary-marking *cippi*, west side of tomb

removed once the tomb was built. This seems to be the case especially for those monuments that include walled enclosures. But for those with no wall, or those who may not have used all of their allocated space such as the Republican tomb at Porta di Nocera, or those who wanted to protect access, such as Gaius Vestorius Priscus, the only means by which one could ensure this was to keep the markers in place.

CONCLUSION

A further element of interest in the funerary epigraphy of Pompeii is the use of the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*.' As it is well attested in Pompeii in eighteen of the extant funerary inscriptions, scholars have previously made much of it, interpreting the phrase as an indication of a gift by the *ordo*, thereby enhancing the status of the deceased. Through an examination of various forms of evidence, however, I have demonstrated that this is not the case, and it is rather the authorization of the governing magistrates to use public land for a monument, transferring to the burial realm the same

magisterial control exerted on public space in the forum and elsewhere intramural. The land that belonged to the town was the closest to the city walls and, therefore, the most prestigious and visible location one could find. It is no surprise, then, that it also should have been the most heavily regulated.

In addition, archaeological evidence in the form of *cippi* marking the boundaries of burial areas is found in relation to twenty of the tombs around Pompeii. These stones demonstrate the limitations of a funerary property and, in some instances, may indicate spaces where future tombs were meant to be constructed. That these *cippi* serve as boundary markers is well attested in the texts of Roman surveyors, and it should come as no surprise to find them in use in Pompeii.

Taken together, the epigraphic evidence indicating the granting of permission to build on public land, in conjunction with the archaeological evidence illustrating that burial land was demarcated clearly, indicates that there was a strong tradition of regulating how and by whom the extramural territory was used.

NOTES

1. As discussed earlier (Chapter 2), the *cippi* erected by Titus Suedius Clemens approximately thirty metres from a number of the city gates are believed to indicate the boundary of Pompeii's public land.
2. A simple search on the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby for inscriptions containing the phrase '*locus datus decreto decurionum*' returned 815 results, ranging across the first fourteen volumes of the *CIL* as well as a number of other epigraphic collections. A much smaller corpus of three hundred and twenty inscriptions was found that contain the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*' and they are distributed just as widely across the Empire. There are, of course, many more variations of the phrase (See Lassère 2005: 392–393; *ILS* 9390 = *AE* 1910: 191 which uses the term *cens[u]erunt*), suggesting that Sherck's claim of thousands of occurrences is likely correct.
3. This is a random sampling chosen simply for the range of context and geographic location the inscriptions represent.
4. Statues were considered public regardless of location in a public or private space (Branchesi 2006: 164), which further confuses the designation of public land, as discussed further later.
5. Toynbee makes no statement about the sacred nature of the location of a *cenotaph*, though the ritualised invitation of the soul does sound religious in nature.
6. This epitaph, however, is of slightly dubious provenance and has been unfortunately lost since excavation. It is not entirely clear if it is a complete inscription or to which tomb it should be ascribed.
7. It is, as far as I have been able to determine, *in situ* and not a modern placement.
8. There is one additional funerary inscription that contains the phrase '*decreto decurionum*,' but it does not belong in the context of this discussion. The epitaph of Gaius Munatius Faustus (PNc30) states that *C(aius) Munatius Faustus / Augustal(is) et pagan(us) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) sibi et / Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi*. It does not follow the standard formula for the shortened version of the decurional decree, because it does not introduce the decree with

'ex,' which means that the otherwise adverbial phrase should be considered to be adnominal, modifying 'paganus.' This view is further confirmed by the syntax of the inscription, as the deceased is introduced in the nominative case as an agent when the other inscriptions are in the dative or genitive; he is doing this for himself (and his wife); it is not a monument that is dedicated to him by the decurions or anyone else. What he is actually stating is his appointment as an *Augustalis* and *paganus* was decreed by the *ordo*. A similar decree from Veii (see the earlier discussion regarding *CIL* XI 3805 = *ILS* 6579) demonstrates that becoming an *Augustalis*, much like the conferring of other offices for citizens (for example, those recorded in the *tabula patronatus*), occurred with the consensus of the town council.

9. Whilst there is evidence for the appearance of *locus datus* in the ablative, it is problematic syntactically.
10. For general discussion of administrative applications of 'publicus', see Kubitschek (1929: 282–311).
11. The inscription for the Alleii is repeated on two sides of the tomb, and although the text is identical, the line divisions are not. Here, I have included the layout from the marble inscription on the east side of the monument which actually faces the Porta di Ercolano.
12. The disc was found in the vicinity of PNC29, but is not actually associated with this monument. Indeed, it is far more likely to have been reused in some manner during the period (AD 50–60) in which this tomb was constructed.
13. That groma, the instrument used for measuring land, were found in Pompeii is sufficient proof there were surveyors employed in the town (Della Corte 1922; Dilke 1974: 566; Lewis 2001: 127).
14. This reclamation of land, as is recorded in Pompeii (*CIL* X 1018 = *ILS* 5942), is also attested elsewhere in Italy. See *CIL* X 8038 for a similar inscription from Corsica.
15. *Cippi* are present around the tombs at the Porta di Nola, but due to limitations of site access, they have not been measured or documented properly. Their placement in relation to the tombs is, however, indicated on the map of the area (Figure 8.19).
16. The one exception to the form of the *cippi* is found at the tomb of Mammia (PE4), which instead uses two tall, cylindrical white marble stones to mark the boundaries of her tomb.

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6 Class, Style, and Self-Representation

The previous chapters have looked at the development of the Pompeian funerary realm in terms of spatial configuration, tomb typologies and status, epigraphic representations of individuals, families, and the organisational aspects of burial. These themes are explored further by examining three manifestations of funerary practice that illustrate the way different individuals or groups chose to present themselves.

First, I look at evidence for tombs created by a *familia* rather than a *gens*, specifically, the interaction between clients and patrons that is represented in the funerary record. There are a number of occurrences where the person constructing the tomb is dedicating it to a patron or some other, unrelated person—in other words, someone who cannot be clearly connected to the deceased as a spouse, parent, or child.¹ Some of these, because of nomenclature or filiation, indicate a clear relationship between freedman and former owner, whereas others are more obscure, and therefore indicative of a more complex interaction between individuals in Pompeian society. This is a genuinely Roman phenomenon, in which the *fides* of the slave/owner relationship transforms, upon manumission, into a reflection of *pietas* more frequently associated with a parent/child connection.

The second example is Eumachia, an upper-class woman and public priestess who hailed from a highly regarded Pompeian family during the Augustan and Tiberian periods (Castrén 1975, 1983: 95, 165–166). She represents an individual member of the upper echelons of local society. By her tomb alone, she would appear to be one of the wealthiest individuals known in Pompeii (presupposing that the amount of money one was willing to spend on building projects correlates directly to one's actual net worth), and is therefore representative of elite activity during the most prolific period of tomb building. What is most compelling about her, however, is that despite constructing the largest tomb found in Pompeii, the majority of information we have for her does not originate from her funerary monument, but rather comes from evidence found elsewhere in the city.²

Finally, I explore the modes of representation utilised by *liberti* by looking at the relationship between three tombs constructed by Naevoleia Tyche, her husband Gaius Munatius Faustus, and his fellow *Augustalis* Aulus Veius

Atticus. Naevoleia Tyche began her life as a slave, later gaining both her freedom and a marked degree of wealth by the late Claudian/early Neronian era. Gaius Munatius Faustus, her husband, is of slightly obscure origins. He identifies himself as an *Augustalis*, but does not state unequivocally one way or the other if he is freeborn or a freedman. Regardless of his legal classification, he was apparently a wealthy man, which no doubt had some effect on his social standing. He and his wife constructed two different tombs on opposite sides of the city: this is an anomaly in standard Roman burial practice in and of itself. His tomb outside Porta di Nocera is twinned with that of Aulus Veius Atticus, also active in the late Julio-Claudian period, who is believed to be a freedman of the *gens* Veia (Castrén 1975, 1983: 235; Franklin 2004; *CIL* IV 3340.35, 3340.49, 3340.67, 3340.99, 3340, 103, 3340.115). The design of these tombs demonstrates a level of planning between adjacent tombs that is not seen elsewhere to the same degree in Pompeii.

FREEDMEN AND PATRONS

There are a number of inscriptions found in the *necropoleis* of Pompeii which demonstrate certain relationships between individuals that extend beyond a strict definition of the nuclear family.³ Examining the epitaphs which indicate a dedication to a patron permits a glimpse of the sometimes complex social networks that existed in the ancient world. The term *patronus* is somewhat loaded, because its use in Imperial literature was restricted to legal advocates, patrons of communities, and the ex-masters of freedmen, and it was never used in the sense of influential protector as was more common under the Republic (Saller 1982: 9). However, there is far more evidence of the patron/client relationship in inscriptions than appears in the ancient literature because ‘the elite who wrote the literature were not inclined for reasons of courtesy to refer to their dependents and protégés as *clientes*, but the subordinates who erected the honorary inscriptions could enhance the reputation of their supporters by using such terms’ (Saller 1989: 54). Furthermore, whilst the patron/client relationship had no formal standing under the law (Saller 1989: 60), this was not the case for a *patronus/libertus* arrangement as this was not voluntary (Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 76). Manumission of a slave did not end the relationship between slave and owner, but rather redefined it, creating obligations of deference and service (*obsequium et officium*) that were enforceable by law (Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 76; Mouritsen 2011: 36).

Of the seven extant inscriptions that reveal a potential freedman/patron dedication (Table 6.1), only three explicitly state the nature of the relationship between the named individuals. However, in most examples, it is clear that one of the individuals was a freedman or freedwoman, and the other individual his or her former owner. In the case of Blaesia Nica (PNc63), she

Table 6.1 Freedmen and Patrons

Tomb	Date	Inscription	Reference
PNc55	Republican	<i>C(aio) Stronnio P(ubli) f(ilio) Pap(iria), pater. / C(aio) Stronnio C(ai) f(ilio) Pap(iria). // M(arcus) Stronnius C(ai) l(ibertus) Meinius / de sua peq(unia) fec(it) patroneis / suis et sibi et Stronniae C(ai) l(ibertae) / Acataarchini.</i>	CIL I ² 3134
PNc63	Augustan	<i>Blaesiae / C(ai) l(ibertae) Nicae / Malchio l(ibertus).</i>	AE (1990) 180a
PE19	late 1st c. BC ?	<i>L(ucio) Ceio L(uci) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Labeoni / iter(um) d(uo)v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennali). / Menomachus l(ibertus).</i>	CIL X 1037
PNc50	Julio-Claudian	<i>P(ublius) Vesonius (mulieris) l(ibertus) / Phileros Augustalis / vivos monument(um) / fecit sibi et suis. // Vesoniae P(ubli) f(iliae) / patronae et // M(arco) Orfello M(arci) l(iberto) / Fausto amico.</i>	AE (1986) 166 = (2002) 335 = (2006) 291
PNc60	Neronian/ Flavian	<i>Novia C(ai) l(iberta) Amoena / sibi et suis / et L(ucio) Iacellio Virillioni.</i>	AE (1990) 178a = AE (1992) 273b
PNc61	Neronian/ Flavian	<i>C(aio) Veranio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Rufo II vir(o) / Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta) Clara optimo / patrono sibi et suis.</i>	AE (1990) 179a
PE14	Last Phase	<i>Cn(aeo) Vibrio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Fal(erna tribu) / Saturnino / Callistus (mulieris) lib(ertus).</i>	CIL X 1033

was a freedwoman herself, whose tomb was dedicated to her by her own freedman (AE 1990: 180b–180c).⁴ Both Novia Amoena (PNc60), and Callistus (PE14), identify themselves as *liberti*, but through nomenclature it is apparent that neither of them are including former owners in the dedication, but rather some other person to whom they clearly had a connection. In the case of Novia Amoena, this is somewhat unclear as the man named in the epitaph has no filiation or indication of his own legal status. Callistus, on the other hand, declares that he was the freedman of a woman, so may indeed be dedicating the tomb to the husband or another male relative of his former owner. This raises an interesting point regarding the inheritance

of patronage. Another Pompeian example of this is Verania Clara (PNc61), who dedicates her tomb to an '*optimo patrono*,' but from the filiation provided, it is clear that the man named in the inscription, Gaius Veranius Rufus, is actually the son of the man who freed her. This provides evidence of the idea that patrons and thus their clients (or, in this case, a freedwoman) could be inherited (Saller 1982: 186).⁵ This demonstrates that the role of the '*patronatus* was thought of exclusively as a permanent, even heritable, bond between a great man and his humble dependants' (Saller 1989: 55). A different type of relationship may be on display in the tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros (PNc50). Because of the *columellae* found in association with the tomb, it has been presumed that he and his *patrona* Vesonia had a more intimate relationship (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 50). In addition to their own *columellae* (AE 2006: 291, 292), there are two inscribed for younger individuals. Publius Vesonius Proculus (AE 2006: 293), and Vesonia Urbana (AE 2006: 294), who lived thirteen and twenty years, respectively, are assumed to be the children of the freedman and his former owner. Whilst marriage to one's own (*liberta sua*) freedwoman was actually encouraged by Augustan marriage legislation and was considered valid grounds for exemption from the manumission regulations set out by the *lex Aelia Sentia* (Gaius *Inst.* 1.18–19; Mouritsen 2011: 43), the reverse, of the *patrona* marrying a freedman, was 'frowned upon and regarded as adulterous' (Mouritsen 2011: 44). The *Digest* clearly demonstrates the low opinion of *patronae* who married their former slaves: 'If a patroness is so degraded that she thinks marriage with her own freedman is honorable, it should not be prohibited by the judge who is investigating the matter' (D. 23.2.13). Weber (2008) argues that this type of relationship is, in fact, far more common than the jurists' views might suggest, citing a number of inscriptions that record the individual named is both *patrona* and wife. In surveying CIL VI, Perry found that there were eighty-two inscriptions naming a 'patron and husband,' and ninety for a 'freedwoman and wife' (2014: 118). The language of the law may support Weber's view, suggesting that the behaviour was frequent enough to warrant the jurists' disgust. Regardless, it is clear from the names of the individuals interred in PNc55 that they were not slaves, but whether they were children of a legal marriage or *liberti* cannot be determined from the extant evidence.

Hackworth Petersen argues that although it was typical to include freedmen in the tomb of the former owner, hence the use of the phrase '*libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*,' it was less common for *liberti* to provide a tomb for their patron (2006: 78; Carroll 2011: 136). It was not unusual for such a dedication to be stipulated in the terms of manumission, requiring the tomb in exchange for freedom, which 'represented a moral obligation within the legal relationship' (Carroll 2011: 137). There is, however, nothing contained in the epigraphic evidence that suggests this was the case in Pompeii (Hackworth Petersen 2006: 78). What is striking, however, considering the premise that this was a rare event, is that there is substantial evidence for its occurrence in the burial record of Pompeii. It may be possible,

that in smaller communities such as this, there was precedent for the perpetuation of closer ties between freedmen and their former owners, which is reflected in the higher occurrence of this phenomenon in the funerary epigraphy. Publius Syrus, himself a slave, stated that '[a] worthy freedman is a son acquired without the aid of nature' (Publius Syrus 703). Perhaps the number of freedmen honouring their patrons in death in the same way a child would a parent is merely a reflection of that sentiment.

EUMACHIA

The tomb of Eumachia is the largest found in Pompeii. Located in the necropolis at Porta di Nocera, it sits approximately halfway along the line of tombs on the south-west side of the road (PNc40). The monument consists of a large exedra atop a low terrace that extends to the edge of the road, and though it is often compared to the *scholae* because of its semicircular nature, does not actually have any further similarities and is the only example of this type of tomb found in Pompeii.

When excavated in 1954, the tomb was found to be in poor condition, and it has never been fully restored. In addition, many of its decorative elements and architectural components were found in a fragmentary and scattered condition. Regardless of this fact, the mere size of the structure and the nature of the recovered pieces of decoration indicate that this was a lavish tomb. Some of the finds include altars decorated with friezes of *erotes* carrying animals and garlands surmounted by *omphaloi* with coiled serpents and a frieze depicting an Amazonomachy (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 11 OS). The decorative elements are, however, merely decorative, in that they do not depict any particular aspect of the deceased's life (as in the case of Naevoleia Tyche's tomb; see the next section) but are composed of the mythological and floral motifs that were popular during the Augustan age when the tomb was built.

The inscription is slightly unusual in both its limited content and the manner in which it is actually displayed. There are two limestone plaques on either side of the main entrance into the tomb complex, each of which contains half of the text. On the left, *Eumachia / L(uci) f(ilia)*, and on the right, *sibi et suis* (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 11 OS). The inscription is not notable for what it does say, but rather for what it does not.⁶ Unlike so many of the other members of Pompeian society who are known exclusively from the burial record, Eumachia, and to some extent her family, are known from a variety of other sources that provide far more information than is gleaned from her tomb. She is known, for example, to have been a public priestess (*CIL* X 810 = *ILS* 3785 = *AE* 2001: 793 = *AE* 2006: 249, *CIL* X 811, 812, 813 = *ILS* 6368 = *AE* 2006: 249),⁷ but that is not listed in her epitaph as would be expected as part of the standard *cursus honorum*.⁸ Additionally, there is no definitive indication of other family members, such

as her husband or son who are also known from other sources. It is quite likely that because of her renown, when it came time to put an epitaph on her tomb, Eumachia felt there was no need to expand on who she was or what she did. Flower suggests that for some '[i]t may well be that such name labels were by this time a conscious archaism: they also suggested that any reader should know who was buried there without having to be reminded in detail' (1996: 182). After all, with her name on a building in the Forum, how was it possible anyone would not know who she was?

The Eumachii were an old Pompeian family, thought to date back to the original time of settlement of the town in the sixth century BC (Gordon 1927: 176; Castrén 1975, 1983: 165; Kleiner 1996: 33). They were Greek in origin, and some scholars argue that they were related to a Neapolitan historian called Eumachus (Gordon 1927: 176; Castrén 1975, 1983: 165). The family had a successful business, owning a number of *figlinae* that manufactured and sold amphorae and tiles.⁹ The *amphorae* of the Eumachii were often found in connection with the wine produced by another Pompeian family, the Lassii, a connection believed to pre-date the Roman colonization of Pompeii (Castrén 1975, 1983: 41, 94). Through her marriage, Eumachia was connected to another old family of Pompeii, the Numistrii.¹⁰ It is generally accepted that her husband, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, served as *duovir* in AD 2–3 and died whilst in office (Franklin 2001: 34). Eumachia also served the city as a public priestess,¹¹ one of four known, all of whom date from the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period (Savunen 1997: 130). All came from powerful local families and are known to have married men from a similar background (Castrén 1975, 1983: 70–72). Eumachia is also one of four individuals known to have made a significant contribution to the massive building programmes that took place in Pompeii during the reign of Augustus (Zanker 1988: 320).¹² The largest of these buildings was Eumachia's own, dedicated to Augustan Concordia and Pietas (Franklin 2001: 33–34, 41–42).

Eumachia's building was located on the east side of the Forum of Pompeii, in an area that had previously contained shops and was specifically cleared in order to construct the porticus (Laurence 1994: 28).¹³ Despite the large size of the building, which includes a number of separate areas and different architectural features, the exact nature of its use is debated.¹⁴ The inscription, located at the front of the building, is equally ambiguous in terms of use, stating that

*Eumachia L(uci) f(ilia) sacerdos publ(ica) nomine suo et / M(arci)
Numistri Frontonis fili(i) chalcidicum cryptam porticus Concordiae /
Augustae pietati sua pecunia fecit eademque dedicavit.*

(CIL X 810 = ILS 3785 = AE 2001: 793)

Much has been made of this inscription and the links to similar projects undertaken by the imperial family in Rome. The building itself draws

inspiration from several Augustan constructions in Rome. It is primarily compared to the Porticus of Livia in Rome, dedicated in 7 BC by Livia and her son Tiberius. That Eumachia chose to dedicate the building with her son is thought to reflect the joint dedication of Livia and Tiberius. It is interesting, as Laurence notes, that architecturally speaking, these two buildings have little in common (1994: 28). Franklin argues that the building was meant to reflect the Porticus Liviae in the same way that the restoration of Pompeii's theatre by the Holconii brothers emulated the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome (2001: 33).¹⁵ The idea of dedicating the building to Concordia and Pietas is also thought to reflect the political programmes promoted by Livia and Tiberius in the years dating from 7 BC to AD 12, particularly as both these personifications were closely associated with Livia on coins and in statuary (Kleiner 1996: 33; Franklin 2001: 33). Other comparisons have been made between Eumachia's building and the Forum of Augustus. Within the Pompeian building, statues of local worthy men were found on display, as were *tituli* and *elogia* of the *summi viri* copied from the Forum of Augustus (Kleiner 1996: 33; Franklin 2001: 34). The *elogia* for Aeneas and Romulus discovered *in situ* in the front of the building on the base of statues are exact duplicates of those found in Rome (*CIL* X 808–809; Laurence 1994: 28). Further connections to Livia have been suggested by the portraiture: Kleiner (1996: 33) believes a portrait of Livia was placed in the central apse of the courtyard, flanked by statues of Concordia and Pietas, whereas Mau suggested that the central statue of Concordia was given features to resemble Livia (1908: 108). Other elements of the building seem to draw from the Ara Pacis: the doorway leading to the porticus is carved to depict flowering acanthus plants, birds and reptiles, reminiscent of the decoration found on the altar in Rome, and believed by some to have been produced in the same workshop (Zanker 1988: 320).¹⁶ Kleiner (1996: 34) also suggests that the statue of Eumachia was designed to emulate the depiction of Livia in the processional scene that runs the length of the Ara Pacis (Zanker 1988: 320). The statue of Eumachia found within the building was located in the rear corridor. Kleiner felt the placement was an attempt to align the statue with that of Livia by placing it directly behind, an argument further supported by Zanker. Although he feels the central statue was that of Concordia, Zanker (1988: 322) cites the placement of statues of Augustus in temples of traditional gods as an indication of attempting to gain honour by association and felt Eumachia was doing the same thing (Kleiner 1996: 34).

Perhaps the most important thing concerning the statue of Eumachia is the inscription:

Eumachiae L(uci) f(iliae) / sacerd(oti) publ(icae) / fullones.
(*CIL* X 813 = *ILS* 6368)

The single word *fullones* has sparked an academic debate that has raged on for a number of years. This inscription is the only established link between

Eumachia and the fullers and has been used to suggest the purpose not only of the building but also of expanding her business interests.¹⁷ Arguments pertaining to the actual use of the building include it being a *fullonica*, a meeting place for the *collegium* of fullers, a guildhall or a marketplace (Jongman 1988: 180).¹⁸ Laurence makes the compelling argument that the building could have been any of these things and all of them, that one purpose should not be accepted to the exclusion of all others. He uses Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 5.1.4) to support the idea of Eumachia's building serving as a basilica, because its covered walkway could have provided a warm spot adjacent to the Forum for men to meet in the winter.¹⁹ He states further that one of these groups could have been the fullers and, therefore, explains the dedication of the statue of Eumachia, but that there is no reason to think that other groups did not make use of the building (Laurence 1994: 28). Trümper suggests the links between Livia and Eumachia are beyond doubt, and thus suggests the buildings in Pompeii and Rome had the same function 'as lavishly decorated garden-*porticus*-complexes for agreeable sojourns and strolls' (2009: 55).

The exact date of the construction of the building is also debated, which is somewhat problematic as the dating of the structure in the Forum is used in part to determine the date of the tomb of Eumachia. Because so many of the building's elements are drawn from Augustan building works in Rome, there is a *terminus post quem* of 2 BC: the year the Forum of Augustus was dedicated (Kleiner 1996: 33).²⁰ Part of the issue in determining the date is related to which Marcus Numistrius Fronto was *duovir* in AD 2/3 (*CIL* X 892 = *ILS* 6393) — the father or the son. Moeller argues that the son, holding his first duovirate in AD 2 at the minimum age of twenty-five, would thus have been an *aedilis* in 2/1 BC, and so the building would have been begun during his first magistracy and would have been completed and dedicated when he became *duovir* (Moeller 1975: 234–235). Castrén suggests Eumachia was inspired by the restoration of the Temple of Concordia completed by Tiberius in AD 10 (Castrén 1975, 1983: 101; cf. Richardson 1978). Franklin argues that the building comes quite late in the Augustan period due to the existence of a plaque in the building which names M. Lucretius Rufus, one of six such bequests left on his death, scattered around the city (*CIL* X 815; Franklin 2001: 33).²¹ Mau suggests a Tiberian date, utilizing the dedication to Pietas as the basis of his argument. He attempts to explain *pietas* as a

single concept [of] the qualities of filial affection, conscientious devotion, and obedience to duty which in the Roman view characterized the proper conduct of children towards their parents and grandparents. Here mother and son united in dedicating the building to personifications, or deifications, of the perfect harmony and the regard for elders that prevailed in the imperial family.

(Mau 1907: 111)

Mau claims that this explanation can only indicate a reference to the imperial mother and the son of Livia and Tiberius and must date to the early years of his reign as in the later years there was discord between them (Mau 1908: 107).²² The specific date of AD 22 is proposed by Mau in relation to events at Rome. In this year, Livia was quite ill (Tac. *Ann.* 3.64), and the Senate voted to erect an altar to Pietas Augusta in her honour. A year later, her grandson Drusus began to use Livia's image on his coins, with the word *pietas* written above it (Mau 1908: 107). The suggestion that the Building of Eumachia was built in Pompeii as a reaction to the illness of the empress and the construction of an altar associated with *pietas* is plausible, but cannot be proved. Descœudres proposes a different source for the date, as he believes it is actually the father who was *duovir* in AD 2/3, not the son. He argues that the only reason the son's name would appear after the mother's in the inscription on the building is because she is a widow and he was not yet of age (Descœudres 2007: 17). He believes the father died prior to the boy coming of age and that Eumachia sought to enhance his standing by using the fortune left by her husband to make a grand donation in her son's name, sometime around AD 25.²³ An absolute date seems impossible to come by, and, considering all of the arguments, is perhaps best left at sometime between 2 BC and AD 25, resisting the desire to pinpoint the year of construction any further.²⁴

There is little further evidence for the family of the Eumachii. The only other family name found in association with the tomb is from a *columella* belonging to twenty-year-old Lucius Eumachius Aprilis. The remaining person of the same *gens* known is Lucius Eumachius Fuscus, who served as *aedile* in AD 31–32 (*CIL* X 899, 900; Franklin 2001: 52–53).²⁵ However, there is some question as to the continuity of the family evidenced by the ongoing use of Eumachia's tomb into the last decades of the city's life. There are three inscribed *columellae* belonging to members of the *gens* Alleia. The Alleii were a long standing Pompeian family, but the epigraphic evidence seems to show two branches of the family, one active in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period (*CIL* X 896, 1036; *EE* 318; *AE* 1891: 166; Castrén 1975, 1983: 133),²⁶ and another that appears in the Neronian and Flavian period that seems to begin with the adoption of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius by Gnaeus Alleius Nobilis. (Castrén 1975, 1983: 133). Gnaeus Alleius Nobilis was most likely a freedman (or the son of a freedman), and his wife Pomponia was a freedwoman (Castrén 1975, 1983: 109). Their adoptive son is known from numerous *graffiti* and inscriptions located around the city and served as *quinquennalis* in AD 55–56 (*CIL* IV 138, 499, 504, 512, 1177, 1179, 1180, 1493, 3453, 3785, 3883, 7690, 7990, 7991, 7993).²⁷

Whilst many scholars whom discuss the existence of the two families within the tomb draw the conclusion that the Eumachii and the Alleii were somehow related, there is no tangible evidence for this (Castrén 1975, 1983: 109; Franklin 2001: 92). The only demonstrable tie is the placement of the *columellae* in the tomb of Eumachia, and even then, it is limited to three

examples, all of whom specify they are *liberti*. It is more likely that the tomb of Eumachia fell into disuse as the family disappeared from prominence in Pompeii, and that an up-and-coming branch of the Alleii took over the grandest tomb in town to further their own social and political status.²⁸ Mouritsen has used Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius as a prime example for the possible late Pompeian economic and political crisis where great opportunities become available to those of humble origins (Mouritsen 1997: 68). This branch of the family came from servile origins and would have been eager to align themselves with an old and respected Pompeian family by using their tomb.

The tomb of Eumachia, despite being the largest in Pompeii, at first glance reveals little about the woman who ordered its construction other than her wealth. Her funerary monument was one of such grandeur and repute that it continued to be used, perhaps by an unrelated family, for more than thirty years after it was built. Yet Eumachia is a popular topic amongst scholars not for her funerary monument but rather for the building she had constructed in the Forum. It is this latter structure, with its inscriptions and statuary, that tells of her promotion of the Augustan ideology, her familial relationships, and her appointment as a public priestess of Venus. One inscription in particular links Eumachia to the fullers, the subject of much academic debate. Other epigraphic evidence from across the Empire provides information as to the origin of the family fortune. During the Augustan period, there was a shift away from the grandiose, overly ostentatious tombs that were a source of competition for the elite at Rome (Hope 1994: 22). The sheer size of the tomb of Eumachia does not support the idea that this curtailment in excess made its way to Pompeii, but, if it did, it could provide a reason for such a limited inscription. It is possible that Eumachia meant for her great building in the Forum to serve as a monument to her life, and therefore chose to keep the inscription on her tomb quite simple. Perhaps the sheer size of the structure was thought to be enough. It could, of course, be argued that most visitors to Pompeii would eventually find their way to the Forum, so Eumachia's name and deeds, as inscribed on her building, would have been visible to more people than her tomb ever would have been. She, therefore, serves as a prime example of an elite personage who was so well known to her fellow citizens that there was no need to advertise her accomplishments in her epitaph, as was the only means available to the majority of the population.

NAEVOLEIA TYCHE, GAIUS MUNATIUS FAUSTUS, AND AULUS VEIUS ATTICUS

Naevoleia Tyche and her husband Gaius Munatius Faustus lived in Pompeii during the first century AD and are known exclusively from the burial monuments that they constructed during their respective lifetimes. They

are the subject of considerable scholarly attention because they made the unusual decision to build two separate monumental tombs on opposite sides of the city. This raises a number of questions as to why they not only chose to build two tombs but also the different types of monuments and decorations, the locations in different *necropoleis*, and whether their remains are interred in the same monument. The most common argument is simply that Naevoleia Tyche had designs of being upwardly mobile socially, and wanted a grander edifice than her husband actually built.²⁹ She (and, by association, her husband) is used as an example of the stereotypical freed-person: a female Trimalchio, an individual with more money than good taste. Hackworth Petersen (2006: 68–69) argues that the monument ‘could be perceived as evidence of the so-called Augustalis/freedman tendency to inflate one’s social and political importance through visual display.’ This is further supported by the similarities to the description of Trimalchio’s tomb (i.e. the assertion of title, displays of an act of munificence and a ship), and suggests the existence of the two tombs belonging to the couple has only ‘fed more fuel to the fire’ regarding this conclusion. Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 40) draws similar parallels between the fictional character of Petronius and the monument of Naevoleia Tyche. Mau (1908: 443) also suggests social climbing through his description of the tomb, which, when compared to the neighbouring altar tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus, he says, ‘Es ist wohl das jüngste Beispiel des Altartypus: die Ornamentierung ist reicher, schwülstiger und weniger geschmackvoll als am Grabe des Quietus.’ I would argue, however, that this is too simplistic and that far more information about Roman burial practices and the desire to preserve memory can be found in the two tombs of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus than in any other single monument. In discussing the tombs of Pompeii, their tombs are an anomaly that cannot be overlooked, rendering it impossible to adequately discuss one without also mentioning the other. What is seldom, if ever, discussed, however, is the relationship between the tombs of Gaius Munatius Faustus and Aulus Veius Atticus, who have twinned monuments in the Porta di Nocera necropolis. These tombs are clearly part of a purposefully planned burial complex. Yet, regardless of the obvious relationship between the two structures built by Faustus and Atticus, the tomb of the latter is often overlooked in studies that examine the monuments of Naevoleia Tyche and her husband, but a clear understanding of any one of these tombs cannot be constructed without addressing all three of them as a collection.

Of the three individuals under examination, Naevoleia Tyche is the only one who specifically states her status, even though she is of humble beginnings. In addition to starting her life as a slave, she was not owned by a family of long-standing political and economic importance. She does provide the name of her former owner, presumably a Roman man, named Lucius Naevoleius,³⁰ about whom little is known. There are two men of that name known in Pompeii and possibly a third member of the *gens*, none of whom

can firmly be identified as her former owner.³¹ Although one component of her name is Greek (*Tyche*), it is not very likely that Naevoleia Tyche was of Greek origin herself as the name was popular for female slaves (Leiwo 1994: 89). It is impossible to know whether she was born into slavery or at what age she received manumission. What can be deduced from the evidence provided by her tomb is that she was a woman who had aspirations of grandeur above her servile birth and was clearly focused on maximising the potential for her memory to be perpetuated.

The tomb itself is located outside of the Porta di Ercolano, roughly half-way down the Via dei Sepolcri on the southern side of the street (PE13). The tomb is an altar raised on a high podium, so is visible from virtually any point along the road. As the enclosure is one lot removed from a similarly designed altar tomb from the same period belonging to Gaius Calventius Quietus (PE11), the two monuments together have a striking visual impact. The monument Naevoleia Tyche had constructed definitively displays the legacy and status she may have wished to project both decoratively and epigraphically. The image she chose for eternity would have been abundantly clear to any passer-by, regardless of literacy levels. The inscription and the reliefs, found on three sides of the monument, complement each other, in essence relaying the exact same information in different formats, both literary and visual, thereby making the message readily accessible to all who passed. There are three main aspects of their lives that Naevoleia Tyche emphasized in order to advertise the status and place in society she and her husband held: (1) their munificence towards both the town and their freedmen and freedwomen, (2) the honours her husband received, and (3) the means by which they gained their wealth. Elements of these three aspects are found both in the inscription and in pictorial form.

The benevolence of the couple is illustrated in three ways. The text of the inscription states that *Hoc monumentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis libertabusq(ue) et C(ai) Munati Fausti viva fecit* (CIL X 1030 = ILS 6373). The monument itself was constructed as a tomb for their freedmen, not necessarily to house their own remains. The public act of munificence is recorded in relief below the inscription, in a scene which depicts the distribution of grain (Figure 6.1). On the left are a number of figures, some carrying baskets, approaching a smaller figure scooping grain from a *modius* into a basket; a second small figure stands to the right of this, with a group of six men in togas watching from the right (Clarke 2003: 184). The relief may include Faustus himself amongst the men on the right, observing the benevolence he possessed, as he is the provider of the dole, presumably from his own funds. Butterworth and Laurence (2005: 71) attribute this relief and the fresco found in the Casa del Panettiere at VII.3.30 depicting the distribution of bread as evidence that unlike in Rome, where the dole was paid for by the state, in towns and cities such as Pompeii, the welfare programme was provided by private individuals. Ling (2005: 102) supports this idea broadly by noting that town officials were expected to provide benefits

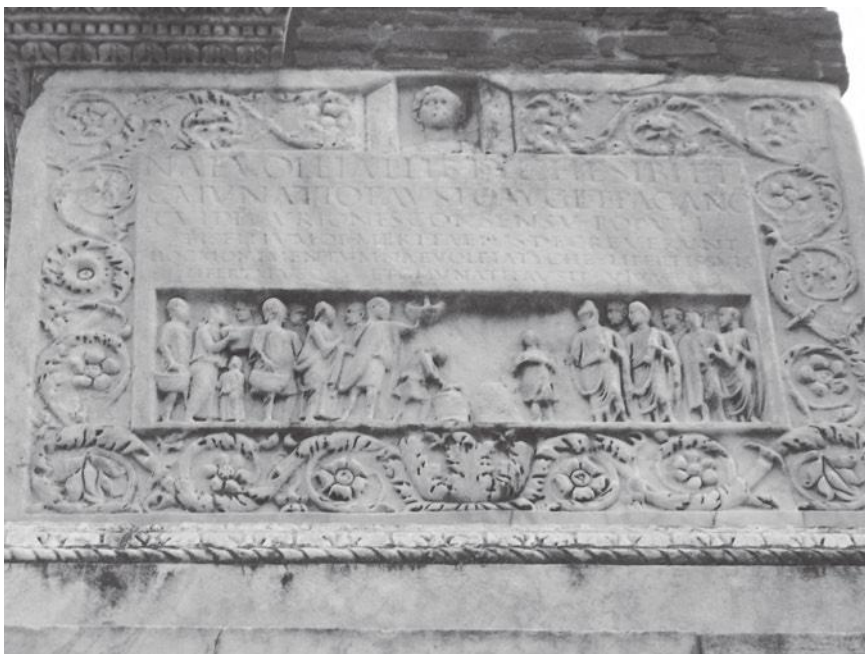


Figure 6.1 Relief of grain distribution, tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus

to their fellow citizens out of their own pockets. Presumably this would include wealthy freedmen who belonged to the *Augustales* such as Faustus. Erdkamp's (2005: 269–271) study of grain supplies in the Roman Empire shows evidence for private contributions to the grain dole, which he states were 'often purely an act of beneficence, intended not so much to address the problems of the urban food market as to confirm the social positions of both parties involved.' This type of donation is well attested in areas of Asia Minor where a specific appointment of *sitones* is recorded. There is some evidence for a similar practice in some parts of the Western provinces (*CIL* VIII 21077). However, he suggests that this is not something that would always be recorded epigraphically because it was not strictly a regularly appointed office but, rather, that private individuals who had the means to supply a portion of the grain dole would do so, particularly in times of dearth when the public funds could not adequately supply the demand. Erdkamp's argument is in part supported by Garnsey (1988: 79–86), who wrote that '[t]he dependence of the cities on their most wealthy and influential citizens advertises the limitations of the public response to the inevitability of food shortage.'

This depiction of grain distribution links to the reliefs found on the east and west sides of the altar as well, as both highlight further attributes that

are related to both the wealth (west side) and munificence (east side) of the couple.

The relief on the east side, of a *bisellium*, is also recorded in the inscription, which states that *decuriones consensu populi bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt* (Figure 6.2; CIL X 1030 = ILS 6373; Clarke 2003: 133). The *bisellium* was a double width seat in the theatre, awarded for life to an individual who performed a civic service, usually a member of the *ordo decurionum*. The only use of the term in ancient literature comes from Varro (*Ling.* V 128), who defines it as a bench where two had room to sit. Franklin (2001: 10) notes that Gaius Munatius Faustus was one of only two *Augustales* that are known to have reached such high standing as to have been granted such a distinction. Gaius Calventius Quietus, whose tomb, as already discussed, is one removed from that of Naevoleia Tyche, was the second *Augustalis* known to have received the *bisellium*, and he, too, records it in the inscription (CIL X 1026 = ILS 6372). Whilst Franklin is correct that only two *Augustales* are known from Pompeii to have received this award, there are more examples if one looks further afield. In addition to those at Pompeii, there are eight other inscriptions that mention the *bisellium* (CIL IX 2249, 2475 = ILS 5583, 3436 = ILS 6528, 3524; CIL X 112 = ILS 6467, 141, 6586, 8104). Of these ten inscriptions, all of which are found in southern



Figure 6.2 Relief of *bisellium*, tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus

Italy outside of Rome, six are dedicated specifically to *Augustales*. Schäfer (1990: 324–345) has compiled a catalogue of twenty-four tombs that depict *bisellia*, and although not all have extant inscriptions, of the fourteen that do, the only epitaphs that specifically name the award of the *bisellium* are the two Pompeian examples. It is further worth noting, that of the fourteen tombs with inscriptions, nine of these individuals (again, including the two from Pompeii) are associated with the *Augustales*. There is the assumption that a further attestation of a *bisellium* exists at Pompeii, awarded to an elite member of the magisterial class. Bronze letters embedded in a bench within the *cavea* of the theatre honour Marcus Holconius Rufus, presumably as a reward for his funding of the refurbishment of the theatre (*CIL* X 838 = *ILS* 6361a). However, the text does not include the term *bisellium*, and it is actually located in the lower level of the *cavea* above the area containing the broader steps used for *bisellia*. Cooley and Cooley (2004: 67) do state, however, that, as there are other small holes in the step, it is possible something else was placed with the inscription such as a small statue or a chair, though they surmise it may not have been one meant to be actually used, but rather was symbolic of the honour of having the best seat in the house.

By explicitly stating that the *bisellium* was awarded by the town council in conjunction with the people, Naevoleia Tyche places an emphasis on the favour in which she and her husband were held in Pompeii specifically as a result of some act performed, most likely a reference to the distribution of grain illustrated on the front of the altar. Framed by an elaborate floral motif, the bench is depicted with a small foot stool positioned centrally, which Mau states was an indication that the bench, though wide enough for two, was intended to be used only by one person (1907: 421).³² Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Calventius Quietus are the only examples from Pompeii where such an honour is recorded by depicting the seat itself on the exterior of their tombs.³³

The relief on the opposite, or west side of the tomb, is of a large sailing ship, complete with a crew of five and a sixth man sitting astern with his hand on the steering oar (Figure 6.3). Clarke (2003: 184) and Hackworth Petersen (2006: 67–68) both debate the true meaning of the ship, with Clarke suggesting that the ship is either a representation of the merchant activities Faustus engaged in during his life, or it depicts the crossing of the River Styx to reach the underworld. Kockel (1983: 102, 106–107) refers to this as a trade ship, claiming the idea of it as an allegory for death is nonsense, whereas Mau (1908: 443) states unequivocally that it represents death. There are a number of reasons suggesting that it is actually a merchant ship and not a depiction of the journey to the realm of the dead. The ship more closely resembles the type meant for the open sea, with a large hold, and a substantial mast and sails; indeed, some crew members are depicted in the rigging and sails of the ship in this relief, and it has thus been classified by Pekáry as a *corbita* (1999: 222–223).³⁴ This may offer a further indication of the importance of the ship in relation to the dole



Figure 6.3 Relief of ship, tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus

and the honour, as there may have been some further incentive to provide this type of service. Under Claudius and later emperors, inducements were offered to anyone who could supply a ship that could carry ten thousand *modii* of wheat (about seventy tonnes)³⁵ to the city of Rome for six years (Gaius *Inst.* I. 32c; Suet. *Claud.* 18–19; Rickman 1980: 123; Garnsey 1988: 233–235; Koops 2014: 108).³⁶ Evidence currently available does not confirm if there were incentives offered by other cities of the Empire, but if so, in a town like Pompeii, a *bisellium* does seem a likely reward for such an endeavour.³⁷ If this relief were indeed related to the trip the deceased would take to the underworld, it would be in an altogether different form. The type of boat attributed to the ferryman Charon more closely resembles a small rowboat or skiff without sails.³⁸ A further reason the ship should not be considered as funerary iconography concerns the relationship it has with the other two large images on the tomb. Both the *bisellium* and the distribution of grain illustrate aspects of the life of Gaius Munatius Faustus, not his death. Although it was common to depict aspects of life and death together in Roman funerary art, they were usually linked by a half-open door, symbolising the transition from one realm to the other (Haarløv 1977; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 248; Hope 1997: 75).³⁹ However, there is no door found here, which makes this particular interpretation of the iconography untenable. When the decoration of the tomb is taken as a whole, the three

primary reliefs represent how the couple acquired their wealth, what they did with it, and how they were rewarded by the community. It is a somewhat unusual juxtaposition of reliefs; Clarke argues that elites tend to portray themselves carrying out official, prestigious activities using the visual language of imperial art (i.e. the distribution of grain and the *bisellium*) whereas the common people tend to depict themselves performing ordinary tasks such as work (i.e. the merchant ship; Clarke 2003: 7). This demonstrates, then, that Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus fell across two social strata, both working for a living and gaining enough wealth to establish themselves on the same level as the socially and politically elite members of Pompeian society.

The final element of importance on the exterior of the tomb is found on the front of the structure, located directly above the inscription. There is a small bust of Naevoleia Tyche framed by shutters. This style of a frame for the portrait is intended to evoke the wooden cupboards used for the display of ancestral masks or death masks within the home (Stewart 2003: 92). These portraits, of male ancestors or *imagines*, attested in a number of ancient sources as discussed in Chapter 2, were used in the processions of aristocratic funerals and then placed in the atrium of the family home. Flower has described the use of portraits in the funerary context as an attempt to 'reconstruct a family's heritage in a public place recall[ing] the display of *imagines* in the atrium' (Flower 1996: 258). This is the only example of this specific type in Pompeii, made even more unusual for depicting a female rather than male member of the family but is not a unique example; towards the end of the Republic and the start of the Empire, freedmen of Rome and Italy began to use busts on their tombs, which Zanker compared to the *imagines* of the aristocrats that were carried in the funeral procession (Zanker 1975; cf. Flower 2002). Those of the aristocrat, however, were never fixed to the tomb so that '[i]n this instance imitation led to an original practice' (Andreau 1993: 194). In addition, much as the remaining aristocratic families of the last years of the Republic who clung to older traditions 'probably inspired new senators to adopt habits common under the Republic,' the use of portraits by freedmen was a means of establishing a connection with Roman practices (Flower 1996: 257). It was as if freedmen 'achieved respectability simply by manipulating the external signs of status' (D'Ambra 1998: 46). This is also a manifestation of the freedman habit of establishing a lineage for future generations who had claim to full Roman citizenship. As she did not have ancestors of her own to recognize, this is an attempt by Naevoleia Tyche to establish an ancestry suitable for future generations to honour. That she chose to represent herself in this way and not her husband, whilst unusual, is likely a reaction to the fact that his achievements dominate the visual images of the tomb, and presenting her likeness as a bust allows her to integrate herself more fully with the visual memory presented by the iconography.⁴⁰ What remains unknown, however, is whether Naevoleia Tyche actually had any children or heirs for whom to

create a lineage. If she was manumitted too late in life to bear freeborn children, it would seem less likely that one would make a large expenditure in order to create such a lasting monument to the status she and her husband achieved as the family name might not be perpetuated. On the other hand, other heirs, particularly freedmen and freedwomen of her own, could have carried on the name of the family and could have benefitted from the erection of the burial monument.

Unfortunately, the two best sources for information on this matter, the epitaph itself and the names recorded on the *columellae* found within the tomb, do not help clarify the issue, and, in fact, only serve to raise more uncertainties as to the location of the remains of both Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus. The inscription on the tomb states,

Naevoleia L(uci) lib(erta) Tyche sibi et / C(aio) Munatio Fausto Aug(ustali) et pagano. / Cui decuriones consensu populi / bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt. Hoc monimentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis / libertabusq(ue) et C(ai) Munati Fausti viva fecit.

(CIL X 1030 = ILS 6373)

Whilst formulaic elements such as *suis* could technically indicate children, in this case it modifies *libertis*, and, as elsewhere in Pompeii, it is a general inclusion for the type of extended family represented by freedmen and slaves (Joshel 1992: 19). Joshel suggests that for former slaves who did not have children if they were manumitted too late in life, their own ex-slaves were included in a familial way and often became the future occupants of the tomb (1992: 84). If the tomb was in fact meant specifically for freedmen and no genetic heirs, it is a bit odd that the phrase '*libertis libertabus posterisque eorum*' was not used, as this is a more typical way to indicate the passing of a funeral monument to the deceased's *liberti* (Fraser and Nichols 1958: 121, n. 17; Ross Taylor 1961: 130). The phrase '*sibi et suis*' would have indicated that the monument was intended for the named builder as well as heirs but it is not used here. The difficulty here is that the inscription is not entirely clear as to what Naevoleia Tyche's actual intentions were. The final sentence of the epitaph ('*Hoc monimentum . . .*' etc.) seems to counter the first: one regulates ownership of the tomb to Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus, whilst the other indicates that the inhabitants are their freedmen and -women. It would suggest, therefore, that although the tomb legally belonged to the couple collectively, they had no real intention of being buried there themselves, but rather created it as a monument to their posterity for the express use of their former slaves and other members of their extended household.

This idea is further supported by the contents of the tomb. Although a number of urns were discovered in the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche, only two were accompanied by inscribed *columellae* that provide any detail as to their contents. The two *columellae* found within the enclosure of the tomb

that were inscribed are for a fifty-seven-year-old man named Gaius Munatius Atimetus and a six-year-old boy named Salvius (*CIL* X 1031–1032; Kockel 1983: 100). The names given to these individuals as well as the ages at death suggest the former was a freedman of Gaius Munatius Faustus, and the latter, a slave who did not survive into adulthood. Mau supposed that the largest niche within the burial chamber held an urn containing the ashes of both husband and wife (Mau 1908: 443), but, considering that the tomb of Gaius Munatius Faustus at Porta di Nocera had yet to be unearthed at the time he was writing, it is understandable that he would have drawn such conclusions. In actuality, there is no substantial evidence to support the idea that either Naevoleia Tyche or her husband was interred in the monument at Porta di Ercolano. Although it is difficult to determine, except by the process of elimination, if both are contained by the tomb at Porta di Nocera, there is still no real reason to believe that this location was used by anyone other than the freedmen and -women indicated in the inscription.

The tomb built by Gaius Munatius Faustus is located in the necropolis outside of Porta di Nocera (PNc30). In comparison to that built by his wife, it is fairly simple and unassuming. Built of local lava stone covered with plaster, there are no marble reliefs, in fact very little decoration at all, and it does not promote the status he achieved during his lifetime in the same way that Naevoleia Tyche's tomb does at Porta di Ercolano. Faustus's tomb is of a different type altogether and would be considered entirely unremarkable if not for two factors: the existence of the other tomb built by his wife and that the structure is twinned with the neighbouring tomb, built by Aulus Veius Atticus.

The inscription on the tomb, like the monument itself, is relatively simple in comparison to that of his wife's tomb:

*C(aius) Munatius Faustus / Augustal(is) et pagan(us), d(ecurionum)
d(ecreto), sibi et / Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi.*

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 9ES)

The content of the inscription confirms some of the same items included in the other epitaph, namely that the man was an *Augustalis* and *paganus*. What is noticeably absent from both inscriptions is a patronymic:⁴¹ Faustus never identifies either the name of his father or the name of his former owner (if he was a freedman). This is a rather glaring omission from an inscription, as the identification of origin (and thereby status) was an important part of the formula for funerary inscriptions. Ross Taylor (1961: 119–121) notes specifically that it was freedmen who tended to drop the inclusion of their former owner, because it was an unequivocal indication of servile origins. Interestingly, this is information that is provided by Naevoleia Tyche for herself in the epitaph for which she is responsible, though again this is omitted from the inscription on the tomb at Porta di Nocera. This makes his legal status problematic: although his association with the

Augustales suggests a strong possibility that he was a freedman, it does not guarantee it. With no further evidence, Faustus becomes an *incertus* even though his wife is firmly identified as a *liberta*. That she was indeed his wife is specified in the epitaph as well.⁴² The epitaph also includes the intentions regarding the inhabitants of the tomb, because it states that Gaius Munatius Faustus dedicated it to himself and his wife. The *columellae* associated with the tomb indicate there were other members of the household interred within. All eight of the *columellae* found therein contain inscriptions. The largest *columella*, containing the text *C(aio) Munatio / Faus<to>*, is believed to belong to the same man named in the exterior epitaph, regardless of the misspelling of the final name (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 9 ES).⁴³ Two of the *columellae* have been identified as belonging to *liberti* of both husband and wife, named Lucius Naevoleius Eutrapelus and Munatia Euche. The remaining five belong to slaves, one aged twenty-five and four of whom died in childhood (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 9 ES; McWilliam 2001: 74–98).

The one person missing from any of the *columellae*, both here and at Porta di Ercolano, is, of course, Naevoleia Tyche. As mentioned above, there was no question regarding the whereabouts of the remains of both husband and wife prior to the discovery of the second tomb in the 1950s. Since then, however, debate has raged as to the location of burial, particularly for Naevoleia Tyche. Arguments include that the tomb at Porta di Ercolano was never meant to be anything more than a *cenotaph*, solely for the use of freedmen (Kockel 1983: 104–105; Clarke 2003: 184), or that the first tomb was simply not good enough for an upwardly mobile wife, who wanted to be buried in grander style.⁴⁴ The fact is that the evidence currently available makes it impossible for us to know where, or indeed if, her remains are in either of the tombs (it is conceivable that she was still alive at the time of Vesuvius's eruption). One point on which scholars agree is that Faustus's death predates Tyche's. Chronology, however, gives no further clues to this puzzle, as both tombs are dated to the decade of AD 50 to 60. Most scholars believe his tomb to pre-date hers slightly, although this seems little more than conjecture. The inscription certainly indicates that he expected them to be buried together, in the tomb he built.

What is wholly remarkable about the tomb built by Gaius Munatius Faustus has nothing to do with material, decoration, or even that it is one of two tombs belonging to a husband and wife, but rather that it is twinned with the adjacent tomb, built by Aulus Veius Atticus (PNC29). The tombs built by Gaius Munatius Faustus and Aulus Veius Atticus are built as mirror images of each other, the only occurrence of this kind found in Pompeii.⁴⁵

The tombs of Gaius Munatius Faustus and Aulus Veius Atticus are in all respects identical in style and decoration, including simple Fourth-style mouldings and painting on the plaster façades. The style of a roofed house tomb is relatively uncommon in Pompeii, though quite popular in other parts of Roman Italy.⁴⁶ Beyond the unique façade that is presented by

contiguous tombs, there is further evidence that the tombs were actually constructed as a single structure. The tombs contain only one interior wall, shared by both structures (Figure 6.4). This element, best viewed from the rear of the structures, demonstrates that the twinning of the tombs was indeed a planned event. The arrangement of the tombs suggests that the two men contained therein had a close relationship during their lives. In addition to designing and financing the tombs, they would have had to purchase a sizeable plot that would enable the construction of two large monuments. This arrangement and the identical design of their tombs clearly took some amount of forethought.

There is, in actuality, little evidence that explains this joint venture. Nomenclature informs us that these individuals were not related, nor, if they were freedmen, did they come from the same owner. There is, furthermore, no evidence for any joint business ventures. Indeed the only thing that links the two men is that they were both members of the *Augustales*. Hackworth Petersen argues that the twinned tombs ‘suggest that they sought to be remembered primarily as members of the same *ordo*, thus visibly creating a community of sorts’ (2006: 74). As the *Augustales* were a group specifically designed to give men of lower (or freedmen) origins an opportunity for status, civic munificence and political involvement they otherwise could not



Figure 6.4 Shared interior wall of tombs of Aulus Veius Atticus and Gaius Munatius Faustus

achieve (Ostrow 1985; Laird 2002), it is a logical conclusion that those who shared that designation would choose to present themselves, in death, in a manner that would be noticeable. The visual image of the twinned tombs is indeed striking, and collectively makes an impression that a single tomb could not.

The existence of the second family tomb belonging to Naevoleia Tyche, however, remains something of an enigma. The popular theory is that she possessed the taste and breeding of the stereotypical 'nouveau riche' and wanted something bigger, flashier, and more obvious than the monument built by her husband. There are two possible alternatives: if Faustus became wealthier and was honoured with the *bisellium* after the first tomb was constructed, that would provide the motivation for the second tomb as a means for displaying these attributes. The other possibility is that Naevoleia Tyche actually held greater status than did her husband and desired to demonstrate that through the additional monument.

If Gaius Munatius Faustus was, like his wife, a freed slave, and they had a relationship prior to the time at which they gained their freedom,⁴⁷ it is possible that Naevoleia Tyche would have gained her freedom first. Because any offspring inherited the same status as their mother at the time of birth, if a couple were attempting to become free it was vital for the woman to obtain manumission first, before bearing children (Flory 1983: 217). The couple would, typically, wait for both to be granted freedom before setting up a family tomb but, because of her change in status first, she gained a certain 'legal superiority' that might be reflected by her name preceding his in the epitaph (Flory 1983: 217–218). It is also possible that Naevoleia Tyche was the possessor of the wealth that allowed for the construction of these two tombs and her husband's civic generosity. The frieze on the right side of her tomb suggests their money derived from shipping; if the money came from her, he would have been more reliant on her for status. There are many examples from other Roman tombs of the wife having more status, and the 'men without any social cachet of their own using their wives' social position to gain some standing, however marginal, in the eyes of their fellow slaves' (Flory 1983: 219).

What seems the most unusual issue with the two tombs constructed by Naevoleia Tyche and Faustus is that they were located in two different cemeteries. It is odd enough to find separate burials for a husband and wife in the Roman world, but to have them in the same city and not in the same cemetery seems even more bizarre. Maintaining two tombs surely puts a financial hardship on those left behind and could complicate matters as to at which family tomb the heirs carried out the rites of the festivals of the dead. Furthermore, when the *necropoleis* of Porta di Nocera and Porta di Ercolano are examined in their entirety, they have a different appearance in terms of style, size, and layout. What would cause anyone, much less a husband and wife, to choose one over the other? Perhaps the split between Tyche and Faustus was a conscious decision to promote themselves that much more, by ensuring that anyone entering or leaving the city by two

of the busiest gates would see at least one of their tombs. That the couple wanted to promote themselves and create a monument to their social status, as is thought to be typical of many freedmen of the Imperial period, is not in doubt. Still, the existence of two tombs goes far beyond what anyone else of similar means and position constructed. One monument is large and plain in style, whilst the other is highly visible, expensively decorated, and boasts the great achievements of herself and her husband, Gaius Munatius Faustus. Naevoleia Tyche makes sure to include all of the honours awarded to her husband in the inscription of her tomb. She even ensures the non-literate observers will understand their combined status by including detailed depictions of the *bisellium* awarded to Gaius Munatius Faustus, the distribution of the grain dole he provided, and the means by which they gained their wealth at sea.

Naevoleia Tyche, however, lived in Pompeii during a period that many scholars believe was marked by political and economic upheaval, paving the way for a new elite ruling class, largely composed of freedmen and their descendents, desperate to establish an advanced social status which could be inherited by their children. In an atmosphere of frantic competition amongst freedmen, one might promote him or herself in the only way available to them: on a tombstone. The existence of the two tombs of Naevoleia Tyche and her husband Gaius Munatius Faustus certainly adheres to this agenda.

CONCLUSION

By providing a more detailed examination of the specific funerary practices found in the burial record of Pompeii, these three examples have demonstrated certain characteristics of the monumental funerary habit that are both typical of more widespread Roman trends and, at the same time, somewhat unusual or unique to the Pompeian population:

- The commemoration of patrons by freedmen occurs at a greater frequency than is expected, demonstrating that the relationship between *liberti* and former owners may be constructed differently in Pompeii than elsewhere in the Roman world. This could be a product of a smaller, more interdependent population generally or a trend that develops in relation to locally recurrent terms of manumission.
- Eumachia, a member of the elite, focuses the perpetuation of her memory on a public building in the Forum rather than on her tomb. Whilst her tomb certainly was grand, it does not promote a long-standing noble family or her role as a priestess, it only demonstrates vast wealth and, as such, is more typical of the ostentatious display typically associated with the lower classes.
- Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus promote their achievements as is expected of freedmen of the mid-first century AD. However,

despite the unusual situation of two monuments, they follow a fairly standard, elite method of representation by presenting a standard *cur-sus honorum*, displays of their generosity, benevolence, and the respect and gratitude this garnered from the town. Whilst they have traditionally been viewed as taking commemoration to an extreme, constructing two monuments on opposite ends of the city, it is the simple, more modest tomb in which their (or at least his) own ashes lie, leaving the more elaborate tomb to the use of their freedmen.

- Gaius Munatius Faustus, together with Aulus Veijs Atticus, creates a complex consisting of twinned monuments, demonstrating a planned emphasis on their joint membership in the *Augustales*, and use their double tomb structure to create a visually captivating edifice.

What these examples most clearly demonstrate is that social status and class are not necessarily indicative of how an individual behaves in regards to establishing their place in the funerary realm. The relationship between patrons and freedmen reiterates the idea that legal or social status does not separate, but rather unifies those who desire commemoration. An even more compelling display of the lack of social standing or class determining behaviour in burial practice comes from Eumachia and Naevoleia Tyche. Here, the elite member of society shows she is more prone to self-aggrandisement than the ‘nouveau riche’ freedwoman who, despite commissioning two tombs with her husband, practices greater restraint and chooses to represent herself and her husband in a far more traditional manner.

NOTES

1. Many of the spousal dedications have been discussed (see Chapter 4), and there are only two dedications made by a child to a parent: Septumia (PV4), whose daughter, Antistia Prima, commissioned the tomb (AE 1913: 71), and Aulus Clodius Iusitus (PNC37) who dedicates a tomb to himself and both parents.
2. *Contra*, for example, Mammia (PE4), who is, like Eumachia, responsible for the construction of a large building in the Forum but whose epitaph is considerably more informative than Eumachia's own.
3. There is a surprising lack of scholarship dealing with this particular issue. Mouritsen's (2011) study of freedmen in the Roman world has a chapter dedicated to the relationship between patron and freedmen, yet it never addresses the funerary context.
4. Both Marcus Blaesus Malchio, who dedicated the tomb, and another freedwoman named Blaesia Quarta are also buried in this monument and have their own epitaphs.
5. For other occurrences, see, for example, *CIL* VIII 610; AE 1892: 13.
6. Considering the state of disrepair the tomb of Eumachia was found in upon its excavation, it is possible that some part of the inscription was lost, but the inscribed plaques found are complete with no broken edges, and in their reconstruction, De Caro and D'Ambrosio suggest no additional locations

where further inscriptions could have been placed. Their conclusion is plausible because there is no structural evidence within the façade of any further inscriptions.

7. AE 1992: 277 does not explicitly state this title, but it was found in the precinct of the Temple of Venus.
8. Although the *cursus honorum* was specifically utilised by male members of the ruling class, a similar list of achievements is found in the epitaphs of women who held priestly appointments.
9. CIL X 8042.47, 8042.48 (tiles); CIL VIII 22637.36; AE 1954: 197a, 1993: 1749a, 1995: 302a, 1996: 1727c (*amphorae*). The amphorae are found across the Mediterranean in parts of Gaul and North Africa as well as Italy.
10. Butterworth and Laurence (2005: 15) use the Numistrii as an example of a native family who changed the spelling of their name to sound more Roman, arguing that prior to colonization their name was spelled Numistrei. Castrén (1975, 1983: 197–198), however, suggests that both originated in the town of Numistro and that the Numistrii were simply the ‘more noble branch’ of the family, who were known only at Pompeii.
11. The records do not name the deity served by Eumachia, but as the other priestesses are specifically named to worship Ceres, it is generally believed the *sacerdos publica* was dedicated to Venus, the patron goddess of the city (Castrén 1975, 1983: 71; Savunen 1997: 129–130).
12. Of these, two men and two women, all were of noble families, and all served as priests.
13. Note that one of the other major investors in the Augustan building program was Mammia, who paid for the construction of the Temple of the Genius Augusti next to Eumachia’s building. This created an area of the forum that was dedicated solely to the promotion of Augustus.
14. The front of the building consists of a deep porch that forms part of the colonnade of the Forum, and most likely contained statues. There is also a *chalcidicum* comprising a number of niches of various sizes for more statuary (including those of Aeneas and Romulus). The interior courtyard has a four-sided colonnade and three apses at the rear. Running around three sides of the interior is a covered corridor (*cryptoporticus*), connected to the colonnaded courtyard by windows. This corridor is accessible from two doors located on the right and left of the front entrance, and by a small passageway leading to a door that exits on to the Via dell’Abbondanza (Mau 1908: 106–107; Richardson 1988: 194–198; Zanker 1988: 308, 310, 320–322; Savunen 1997: 53; Wallat 1997: 31–105).
15. The Holconii are one of the families identified as the four major proponents of the Augustan building programme at Pompeii.
16. The attribution of the marble frame on the entrance to the Building of Eumachia has, however, been called into question. Wallat (1995) argues that this actually belongs to the Temple of the Genius Augusti, and should be around the doorway at VII 9.2.
17. Castrén (1975, 1983: 95) claims that it was her marriage into the family of Numistrii that established her connection with the fullers as his family originally came from a mountainous area where they may have owned land suitable for sheep farming.
18. At the time of excavation, scholars found a number of vats and basins within the site that were used to argue that it was indeed a *fullonica*. It should be noted however, as Bradley (2008: 28) has pointed out, that, archaeologically speaking, there are a number of institutions found in Roman towns that resemble *fullonicae* but served an entirely different purpose, thus leading to a series of misidentifications. Both Mau (1908: 108) and Maiuri (1942: 42)

disputed the idea of a *fullonica*, claiming that the artefacts were not the same size and shape as those used by fullers and that they were more likely to be used by masons carrying out restoration work after the AD 62 earthquake. This argument is part of the basis for the theory that the Forum was never fully restored after the earthquake of AD 62 and given as a further indication of the so-called economic crisis of the post-earthquake years, but does not take into account the likely continuation of seismic disturbances leading up to the AD 79 eruption that would have required constant repair and renovation throughout the city. Moeller (1975: 65) makes the argument that the building cannot be a market because it does not have the same design of the *Macellum*, which contains booths and shutters. He argues that it could have served as a guildhall of sorts, with offices and storage on the first floor and the area of the *chalcidicum* serving as a space for auctioning cloth. Although there are remnants of a narrow staircase, there are no traces of the first floor, so any ideas about layout or use are mere speculation. Jongman (1988: 181–183) states that the inscription offers ‘no proof that the building fulfilled a special role for the fullers, only that the fullers had a reason to honour Eumachia with a statue in this building.’ Mau (1908: 108–109) suggested that since the corridor had limited access, it could conceivably be locked at night and thus serve as a cloth market. The narrow door at the rear could have been used for moving merchandise in and out of the building without entering the Forum, and the windows between the corridor and courtyard would have allowed anyone in the building to view the merchandise available. Fentress (2005: 228) takes the features of the building, including the double circulation of the corridor with barred windows, as proof the building was used, at least in part, as a slave market. She argues that the *cryptoporticus*, with its decoration of dark red painted plaster and beaten earth floor, was neither suitable for luxury goods nor livestock, leaving human goods as the most likely occupants. The controlled access from the ramp at the rear of the building leading to the corridor, which then connected through doors to the raised *podia* in the *chalcidicum*, would allow the movement of slaves into the building from the *Via dell’Abbondanza* to the corridors where they could be viewed, before being led singly to the auction block for sale. Trümper (2009) has determined that many of the features Fentress lists actually render the building unsuitable for commercial purposes. Further evidence that this was a public building and not a private guildhall comes by way of an inscription found in the building in which ‘*ex decreto decurionum locus datus.*’ The inscription, on a marble herm (CIL X 814), names C. Norbanus Sorex, a magistrate in the *pagus* Augustus Felix Suburbanus. Permission, Jongman (1988: 183), could not have been granted by the *ordo* to place an inscription in a private building. His argument is not entirely valid, as a *tabula patronatus* was placed, by decree of the *decuriones*, in the house of the patron named in the agreement, but that does suggest this was done with the complete awareness and agreement of the owner. Although a second copy of a *tabula patronatus* would be placed in a public location, that is not the case here, in part at least because this inscription contains none of the *formulae* that is necessary components of the *tabula patronatus* (Nichols 1980: 548–553).

19. *Contra* Fentress (2005: 228) who argues that this was not a monumental walkway and unsuitable for this type of use.
20. The Forum of Augustus was the latest of the projects Eumachia’s building is compared to: the Ara Pacis was dedicated in 9 BC, the Porticus Liviae in 7 BC.
21. M. Lucretius Rufus was a well-known man, *duovir* three times, *quinquennalis*, *pontifex*, *praefectus fabrum*, and *tribunus militum a populo* (CIL X 788–9, 851, 952–4).

22. Mau states that this cannot refer to Nero and Agrippina since the Third-style decoration found in the building was out of favour by the time of his reign. Ovid testifies to Livia's and Tiberius's involvement in the joint construction of the Porticus of Livia in the *Fasti* (1.641–2, 6.637–42).
23. Descœudres (2007: 17) interestingly enough makes reference to a conflicting conclusion in the same publication, where Small (2007: 198, 206) claims that the building is late Augustan, constructed by Eumachia after both husband and son had died.
24. Currently no dates later than AD 25 have been suggested, and as Tiberius withdrew from Rome entirely in 26, it is highly unlikely that construction could be any later.
25. Castrén (1975, 1983: 166) suggests tentatively that this could be Eumachia's younger brother.
26. This group includes a number of magistrates of high rank such as Marcus Alleius Minius and Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, whose wife was a public priestess and whose son was politically active.
27. He is also listed on the tablets of Iucundus (*CIL* IV 3340.16; dated to AD 55). He is credited with being the most successful of those of servile origins. His daughter Alleia was a *sacerdos publica* of both Venus and Ceres (*EE* 8.315 = *EE* 8.855 = *ILS* 6371 = *AE* 1891: 113). He is known from electoral *graffiti* dated to AD 62 and was appointed to the highest priesthood of imperial flamine and named *princeps coloniae* in the 70s (Mouritsen 1988: 126; 1997: 68. See also van Buren 1947; Franklin 1997).
28. If there were no surviving heirs to make a legal claim to a tomb, there was nothing to prevent anyone else from using it, as long as it remained a tomb.
29. Butterworth and Laurence (2005: 51), in their somewhat dramatised account of Pompeii, state that, after the death of her husband, Naevoleia Tyche must have 'laid hands on his wealth' which she then used to build a 'far more magnificent tomb' so that 'in death Naevoleia surpassed her husband.' The choice of language used by the authors seems to imply certain negative aspects of Naevoleia Tyche's activities, perhaps suggesting that she possesses the characteristics of an ancient gold digger.
30. It was standard practice for slaves to be given one name prior to assuming the *nomen* of the former owner upon manumission (cf. Dixon 2001). The form of Naevoleia does not clearly indicate a male or female owner, but the standard identification of a female owner, the retrograde C which is attested elsewhere in Pompeii, is not included in the inscription. This would suggest her former owner was in fact male. However, the name itself, Naevolius, derives from the *gens Naevia*, which is fairly well attested in the Roman world. As the word *naevius* actually refers to a small mark or mole on the body since birth, presumably the first to bear the name also bore a birth mark (*CIL* V 4417; VI 103, 132, 33115, 22832; IX 2356; X 6097, XV 3349, 3758; Schulze 1904: 263, 436, 459; Solin and Salomies 1988: 124, 366–367).
31. Castrén (1975, 1983: 194) identifies four members of the *gens Naevoleia* including Naevoleia Tyche. L. Naevoleius Eutrapelus is known from a *columnella* found in the tomb of Gaius Munatius Faustus at Porta di Nocera, and L. Naevoleius Nymphius is the eighth witness on a tablet (*CIL* IV 3340.103) of the collection of Iucundus. He also identifies C. Nevoleius Felix (despite the altered spelling) as a member of the family, who is also a witness of Iucundus's business dealings, the second signatory on Tablet 132 (*CIL* IV 3340.132). Castrén also attests the presence in Pompeii of the *gens Naevia* (as does Chia-via 2002: 141, 154), from which the name is thought to derive, who were originally of Sabellian origin and were attested in Rome at an early date. Castrén

thus draws the conclusion that the Naevii were amongst the colonists who came to Pompeii in 80 BC.

32. Wanscher (1980: 154) suggests that an accompanying footstool is an indication that the actual seat is proportionately higher, thereby necessitating additional foot support.
33. Schäfer (1990: 328–331) suggests that the chair painted on an interior wall of the tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus (PV2) is also a *bisellium*, but this is a somewhat problematic identification. The chair in question is piled with scrolls and associated with other aspects of magisterial duties, and the scene itself is thought to be set in his home, making it far more likely to be a *sella curulis*. There does, however, seem to be some confusion in identifying the difference between the two by modern scholars. Holliday (2002: 192–193) discusses the depiction of *bisellia* on a group of late Republican/early Augustan grave reliefs from in and around Rome, but his discussion is problematic, because he also uses the term *sella curulis*, which is in fact a different type of chair altogether. The *sella curulis* is a type of folding chair (typically with s-curved legs or inverted lion's paws) that could range from a simple camp stool (*sella castrensis*) used in the army to elaborate gold or ivory stools used by consuls and later emperors (Wanscher 1980: 121–146). Believed to have Etruscan origins, like other insignia, such as the *fascies*, there is evidence for this type of seat as a symbol of magisterial authority from the early Republic through the Imperial period (CIL VI 40920; XI 1826 = ILS 50; Dio 42.23.3; 44.4.2; for coins depicting various emperors seated on *sellae curules*, see Wanscher 1980: Augustus 135A; Trajan 135B; Antonius Pius 137A; Nero 137B). Wanscher (1980: 126) argues that there were different stools depending on the level of authority an official possessed, so that whilst a high magistrate would use the *sella curulis*, lower magistrates such as *quaestors*, used a stool of 'stiff construction,' and the *subsellium* was a bench that, according to the name, was meant to be lower or at the very least placed in an inferior position, that is, the *subsellia tribunorum*. Holliday's example is of a relief that depicts a central man in a toga, seated on said chair, surrounded by lictors and clients, presumably carrying out the daily duties of a magistrate. Holliday states that the *sella curulis* was a 'symbol of magisterial authority,' and was similarly depicted on Republican coins. The images of the chairs to which Holliday is referring are quite different from the *bisellia* on the tombs in Pompeii, which have pairs of curved, crossed legs. As the chair in the tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus clearly has four visible legs, it suggests a perspective of a seat with the s-curved legs of the *sella curulis* and not the bench of the *bisellium*, seen on the tombs of the *Augustales* at Porta di Ercolano, in which because the legs are directly in line, only the front two are actually visible. Many of the *bisellia* Schäfer (1990: Taf. 91.1, 91.3, 96.1, 96.2, 98) has found depicted on tombs likewise are a bench with only the two front legs shown, distinct from the four leg images of the *sella curulis*.
34. She (1999: 44–45) also identifies a similar relief from a tomb in Ostia as a *corbita*, which was a type of ship designed specifically for trade as it could carry up to four hundred tonnes of goods.
35. If Pekáry is correct in her estimation that Faustus's ship could carry four hundred tonnes, that would be equivalent to approximately fifty-five thousand *modii*.
36. The benefits in exchange for this service included exemption from the penalties of the *lex Papia Poppaea* for childless citizens, grants of citizenship to Latins, and rewards to women equivalent to those for bearing four children. Suetonius notes (*Claud.* 19) these benefits were still in effect in his lifetime.

37. It is unclear from the relief if this represents a singular donation made by Faustus, or if there were multiple acts of munificence. This type of donation was occasional, encouraged in times of crisis in local food supplies (Garnsey 1988: 69–88).
38. The depictions of Charon and his boat (*LIMC* 1986 III 2: 168–174) show him using either oars or a pole for propulsion, and do not usually include sails. There is one exception, but it is believed to be iconographically unique, and thought to differentiate as a journey on the ocean rather than in the underworld (*LIMC* 1986 III 1: 224; III 2: 172 no. 52.) Ancient literary descriptions of the ferryman also mention the use of a pole or oars; Seneca, for example (*Hercules Furens* 762–768), describes him as ‘his own boatman, with a long pole he directs his craft.’ For a full list of literary references, see *LIMC* (1986) III 1: 210–225.
39. Haarløv (1977: 9–10) specifies that these doors are purely symbolic, representing the border between life and death, and should not be confused with depictions of doors that are part of an architectural relief or integral to the portrayal of myth.
40. Cicero (*In Vatinius* 28) wrote of a wife bringing her own family’s *imagines* with her at time of marriage.
41. Using the *tria nomina* suggests he was a freedman or was freeborn. Faustus itself is a fairly popular *cognomen*, particularly amongst the sons of freedmen (Ross Taylor 1961: 125). The Munatii are thought by Castrén (1975, 1983: 193) to originate in Latium, but he states that their freedmen are known particularly in the Hellenistic East and parts of Campania (mainly Herculaneum, Capua, and Pompeii). The only attestation in Pompeii comes from this pair of tombs.
42. The specific term *coniunx* is associated with poetry and found in sepulchral inscriptions far more often than the term *uxor* which was used in everyday speech (Treggiari 1991: 6–7).
43. It seems that a misspelled inscription on something as small, and presumably as inexpensive (in relation to the cost of the tomb itself), as a gravestone is something that would have been rectified. It is particularly awkward in light of the apparent obsession with appearance and display of social status that is indicated by the existence of two tombs. It seems that, if there is such a desire to project the image of wealth and status and to ensure prolonged memory, then the name of the titular occupant would be corrected. However, in consideration of recent evidence that suggests that *columella* were actually painted (cf. Saldías 2008), it is possible that the misspelling could have been rectified in that way. Oliver (1960: 193) makes much the same argument, contending that many errors of carving were corrected with paint.
44. Berry (2007: 118) for example, suggests that it was ‘ironic’ that his ashes remained in the humbler tomb at Porta di Nocera, thereby implying some intention on Naevoleia Tyche’s part to move them to the more distinguished monument.
45. Whilst there certainly are groups of other tombs that are of the same type that create a uniform appearance, such as those on the north-eastern side of the road outside of Porta di Nocera, or the *aediculae* on the high terrace at Porta di Ercolano, they date from different periods and are not actually twinned in the same way as tombs PNC29 and PNC30.
46. They are particularly popular in Isola Sacra, though most of these tombs date to the second and third centuries AD. See Hope (1997: 82) for their occurrence in Pompeii.
47. Flory (1983: 217) and Weaver (1972: 113–114) state that slaves tended to marry slaves or freedmen from their own household, although in this instance, nomenclature would suggest otherwise.

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7 Conclusion

One of the most glaring difficulties in approaching the subject of burial in the Roman world as a whole is the geographic and chronological expanse of the civilisation. Trends and practices change over both space and time: early Romans inhumed corpses, the Romans of the Republican and early Imperial periods interred cremated ashes in urns placed in large tombs with rich external decoration, and later Imperial Romans returned to the practice of inhumation but in elaborately designed marble sarcophagi placed in tombs that focused on internal decor. It was not just the type of burial that changed, but the focus of decoration on a tomb also shifted from external to internal, and, likewise, the hundreds of years and miles covered by the Republic and the Empire saw a great variety of tomb types and developments in the epigraphic habit. There are, however, certain truisms that can be used to make some generalisations about Roman burial practices:

1. There was intense competition in the late Republican period, leading to attempts by one aristocratic family to outdo the next. This sort of competition resulted in a number of laws restricting *luxuria* and slowly died out in the city of Rome after the Mausoleum of Augustus created an unsurpassable benchmark in terms of funerary construction, but continued in other towns in Italy and the provinces.
2. The poor could not compete with the wealthy in terms of types of commemoration, but the desire to acknowledge the life and death of a loved one prevailed despite financial limitations (cf. Senatore 1999: 96–99; Graham 2006).
3. Some clearly definable groups (e.g. soldiers and gladiators) created their own funerary practices (cf. Hope 1994; 1998; 2000a; 2000b).
4. Some elements of typology, decoration, and epitaphic formula went in and out of fashion; these trends may sometimes be used (cautiously) for dating structures.

The approximately two hundred tombs and other burials that are found around the walls of Pompeii do not always conform to scholarly expectations of Roman burial practices. There is a much greater variety in the

burial record than would be expected for a homogenous Roman population building tombs over a relatively short period of approximately 160 years. Scott compares burial habits in Rome, Ostia and Pompeii, noting that 'tomb elaboration took hold most quickly at Pompeii,' with Ostia and then Rome following (2013: 107). The most obvious dividers of class, sex, legal status, or ethnicity are manifested in the burial record of Pompeii, but not necessarily in a predictable manner. Social mixing, among the elite, the freedmen, and the newcomers to the city, was a feature found in the Pompeian burial record long before it appeared in other Italian cities such as Ostia, where the same levels of integration are not found until the second century AD (Scott 2013: 107). Quite rightly, Wallace-Hadrill writes that '[t]here is no meaningful distinction of the burials of magistrates versus freedmen, or of *Augustales* versus ordinary freedmen, of men against women, of people of different ethnic origin, or even of period' (2008: 62). This is illustrated in the study of the altar tomb, which is present throughout the Roman period, and is used by people of various social and legal groups. Likewise, the study of one family, the Vei, who can be traced across a number of generations and tombs within the funerary record of Pompeii, demonstrates the different manner in which individuals chose to be commemorated.

The unifying factor found amongst the different groups of the population was a desire to commemorate their dead with whatever means available to them, whether an elaborate, richly decorated tomb at the Porta di Ercolano or the burial of an urn and a brief text scratched into the city wall beyond the Porta di Nola. The one aspect that had the most influence on this ability was not legal status or social class, but the amount of money an individual was willing or able to spend on a monument.¹ Nielsen states that the 'Romans gave their dead the burials they could afford in accordance with the local habit of commemoration' (1996: 56). The wealthier members of society were usually a substantial component of the ruling classes, rendering financial capability analogous to social status. In exploring the distribution of tombs in the *necropoleis* typologically and chronologically, there is no real pattern to what type of person builds a particular type of tomb, nor where, or when. By the time Pompeii was destroyed in AD 79, the spatial and architectural choices of a citizen or a freedman had become virtually indistinguishable (Scott 2013: 96).

Similarly, there is more than enough epigraphic evidence provided by both primary and secondary inscriptions to indicate that the epigraphic habit had an equally widespread appeal. The primary inscriptions on tombs were used not only to record the name of the deceased but also to promote their memory by listing their achievements. This, too, was not just an elite habit: Naevoleia Tyche, a freedwoman, gave a more complete account of her and her husband's accomplishments on the tomb she built for her freedmen than was recorded by the freeborn and wealthy public priestess Eumachia. The use of secondary inscriptions on *columellae* not only allowed more family members to be recorded for posterity, but the practice of using these

headstones with an inscription also provided a relatively inexpensive means for a greater number of the population to be represented in the funerary record. That *columellae* could be adapted to suit one's budget—lava or marble, painted or inscribed—ensured the popularity of this device in Pompeii.

The evidence found in Pompeii and elsewhere in the Roman world does make clear that, unlike previously held ideas, the inclusion of the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*' in an epitaph does not increase the standing of the deceased by declaring a gift from the *ordo* but, rather, indicates authorization to use public land for burial. Combined with the archaeological evidence of boundary-marking *cippi*, there is ample evidence that the land used for commemoration of the dead was highly regulated by the *ordo*. Like the variations in typology and status, the phrase '*ex decreto decurionum*' and boundary-marking *cippi* are found in all *necropoleis*, demonstrating that even where burial practices may have deviated from more traditional practice, they are highly regular and fairly ubiquitous throughout the Pompeian funerary record.

The physical and topographical variations in the areas used for burial around Pompeii also contributed to the differences visible in the *necropoleis*. At Porta di Ercolano, for example, where the burials are in a neighbourhood populated by other types of buildings, the tombs were interspersed with these structures, automatically limiting the size, and to some extent, the shape of the monument or enclosure. On the other side of the city, the tombs at Porta di Nocera were constructed in an open area that followed an orbital road around the city walls, and were not impeded by pre-existing construction. This allowed much larger tombs to be built, monuments that could not have been accommodated by the available space at Porta di Ercolano. In some ways, the visible differences between the burial areas used allowed the local population to offer multiple aspects of identity to a passer-by, depending on where a visitor entered the city (Scott 2013: 106).

In addition to factors such as topography and finances, it should not be surprising that such variation in the burial record exists if what is known about the history of Pompeii and its population is considered. The town and its people existed for a considerable length of time, falling under the influence of a number of cultural groups prior to Roman colonisation. The early buildings of the city show Italic and Hellenic elements of design and style, in addition to the Roman style of architecture and art that would dominate later periods. It is natural that some of these characteristics should have carried over into the funerary traditions. Some of the tombs boast design features that originate elsewhere: the lions on PNc55 have Greek and Etruscan antecedents; the *tumulus* tomb of Veia Barchilla (PNc33) is an archaic form also popular in Etruria and has a brief resurgence in Rome in the late Republican and early Augustan period, as demonstrated by Caecilia Metella and Augustus himself. Most interesting, the uniquely Pompeian tomb type of the *schola* appears to originate in the honorific benches of Greece and Asia Minor.

The result of examining the multiple elements that influence the development of tombs in Pompeii is that individual choice cannot be ignored as perhaps the greatest contributing factor to the variety that exists. For the most part, the generalisations that are made regarding Roman burial practices are exaggerated because they do not always take this aspect into consideration. The funerary record found in Pompeii, including the types of monuments, epigraphic habit, and regulation of space, is evidence of an individualised approach to commemoration. Although, at the heart of it, the practice of constructing large tombs is Roman in concept, how it is manifested in that place and at that time is something completely unique to the population of Pompeii.

NOTE

1. Daniels-Dwyer (2000) addresses the cost of private building in Pompeii in terms of materials and labour but never specifically deals with funerary monuments.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The Tombs of Pompeii

The research questions addressed in the preceeding pages regarding the development of the culture of burial in Pompeii require the ability to analyse the information provided by the tombs in a comparative way. The current state of piecemeal publication makes this difficult, thus necessitating the compilation of a uniform data set of information on the tombs found in the immediate vicinity of the city. This is in part a synthesis of data that has been compiled from multiple sources in addition to my own fieldwork, and is rendered in a systematic way. As such, this provides the basis for producing a detailed overview of the types of tombs and decoration used, where available, the individuals responsible for construction, and the chronology of the development of the funerary record both in each necropolis and in the town as a whole.

The tombs are arranged into six sections based on location. These are the areas outside of the five gates that currently have *necropoleis*; the sixth is an extension of the necropolis at Porta di Nocera farther to the east that has been excavated in two phases. Each subsection contains a brief introduction to the necropolis, including a plan. The data presented for each entry are as follows.

Tomb Number and Concordance

As the burial areas have been subject to multiple identifying numbers, if assigned at all, they have been allocated new numbers in a systematic manner by necropolis. This includes a prefix indicating the necropolis or area, followed by a number:

- PE = Porta di Ercolano
- PV = Porta del Vesuvio
- PN = Porta di Nola
- PNc = Porta di Nocera
- PS = Porta di Stabia

For those at Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera that have been previously assigned identifying numbers, their concordance is also given. The catalogue follows the circuit of the city wall starting with Porta di Ercolano and moving east and south, ending with Porta di Stabia. The numbers of the tombs follow the roads; that is, **PE1** is the first tomb on the south side of the road outside of the gate, the numbers progress sequentially down the street, and then back up the north side, so that **PE34** is the last tomb on the north side of the road next to the city wall.

Primary Occupant

If it is possible to identify an individual or family group based on epigraphic evidence, that person or family is listed here. Some of these attributions are tenuous, and if so, this is indicated with a question mark.

Type

This refers to the basic design of the tomb, based on existing typologies as developed by Toynbee and von Hesberg and used in previous publications on Pompeian burial. Despite my trepidation in using what I consider to be somewhat limiting typologies, it is the only way to establish the basic uniformity that is necessary for the purposes of a comparative study. Variations of design and other unique or distinguishing characteristics are included under the heading 'Form' (see the following).

Tomb Dimensions/Enclosure Dimensions

Measurements have been published for the tombs at Porta di Ercolano and Porta di Nocera. Likewise, for those tombs that were reburied in the nineteenth century, I have also made use of the published material as there is no alternative. Having determined this previously published material to be largely accurate on measurements, I have made use of it. In some instances, different indicators have been used to record what has been measured (mainly varying between publications), so I have used directionals as much as possible in an attempt to standardise this. For the tombs at Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, and Porta di Stabia, however, no dimensions have been published. I have measured these structures to the best of my ability, calculating height of the tombs using a clinometer to determine elevation. 'Tomb dimensions' refers to the structure of the tomb itself, whereas 'enclosure dimensions' indicates an outer wall that surrounds either the tomb or a specifically demarcated area for burial.

Materials

This includes a list of the materials used in the construction of the enclosure and tomb. Various sorts of volcanic material, indigenous to the region, are the dominate fabric of most Pompeian construction, not only the tombs.

Form

This includes a more detailed description of the tomb's design and structure, as well as any unique features. In some instances, this may include some aspects of the excavation history in as much as it impacts the current state of the monument. Like other elements of the catalogue, these descriptions include a synthesis of my own observations and previously published material.

Decoration

Any decorative elements, including but not limited to stucco reliefs, painting, and statuary are described here. Decoration is, unfortunately, the element of a tomb that is most likely to have been either removed to a museum or to have degraded due to exposure. For many of the tombs, traces of painted stucco are all that remains of previous decoration.

Inscription(s)

The epigraphic evidence associated with the tombs comes in both the form of monumental inscriptions often found on a marble tablet in the centre of the tomb's façade and inscribed headstones or *columellae*. For each available inscription, the relevant publication information is provided, as well as an indication of whether or not I have conducted personal autopsy. The location, and where possible, the material of the inscription is given, as is the full text and translation. All translations of epigraphic material are my own.

Date/Basis of Date

Pompeii is quite unique in the ancient world for certain elements of absolute chronology. How this affects the dating of tombs is quite simple: there is a clear-cut start and end date, with one further absolute date. The monumental tombs all post-date Roman colonization in 80 BC. The earliest tombs appear roughly twenty to thirty years later when the first colonists (such as Marcus Porcius, PE3) begin to construct tombs. Thus, the Republican period, as applied to the tombs, includes the years of 60 to 27 BC. The Augustan period (27 BC–AD 14) is the next chronological benchmark used

and is marked by something of an explosion in the number of monuments built. This correlates to something of a construction boom in the town generally, and some of the tomb commissioners can be linked to public building works (such as Marcus Tullius, Mammia, and Eumachia). There are other elements that appear first (or only) in the Augustan period that assist the dating process, for example, certain offices such as *tribunus militum a populo*. The longest period is also the most problematic. The Julio-Claudian period begins after Augustus's death in AD 14 and is cut short during Nero's reign by the earthquake of AD 62. The earthquake had a profound impact on the structural integrity of the tombs; many were damaged and subsequently repaired, whilst others were destroyed entirely (PNC17 and 18). The final years of Pompeii, AD 62 through 79, are thus identified by the lack of structural damage as well as other elements such as painting styles.

Dates used in the catalogue are, for the most part, based on elements of construction, such as the use of a particular material or a construction technique. Very fine *opus reticulatum*, for example, first appears in the Neronian period around the time of the earthquake (Richardson 1988: 379). When there is an extant inscription, sometimes the style of lettering or other specific contents of the epitaph can be used for dating. If the date is based on this or other information, for example the deceased is known from other evidence like an electoral notice or the tablets of Iucundus, it is noted as such. Dating is often difficult and can only occasionally be pinpointed to a short period of time or specific years; it is far more likely for a tomb to be given a general period such as Augustan or Julio-Claudian. For some of the tombs an absolute date is impossible, even though it may be possible to place it chronologically with neighbouring monuments. Within these parameters, the date and the basis of the date are given as fully as possible.

Comments

Any further points of interest are included here, such as whether the tomb has been inscribed with *graffiti* or *dipinti*.

Bibliography

The bibliography consists of a compendium of the most relevant previously published material that relates to each particular structure. Given the popularity of Pompeii there is, of course, a vast bibliography available which consists of both scholarly and non-scholarly material, and although many publications of both categories include some tombs, they are often superficial or derivative of more authoritative publications rendering them inconsequential for inclusion here. For a general overview on what has been published on Pompeii, see García y García (1998).

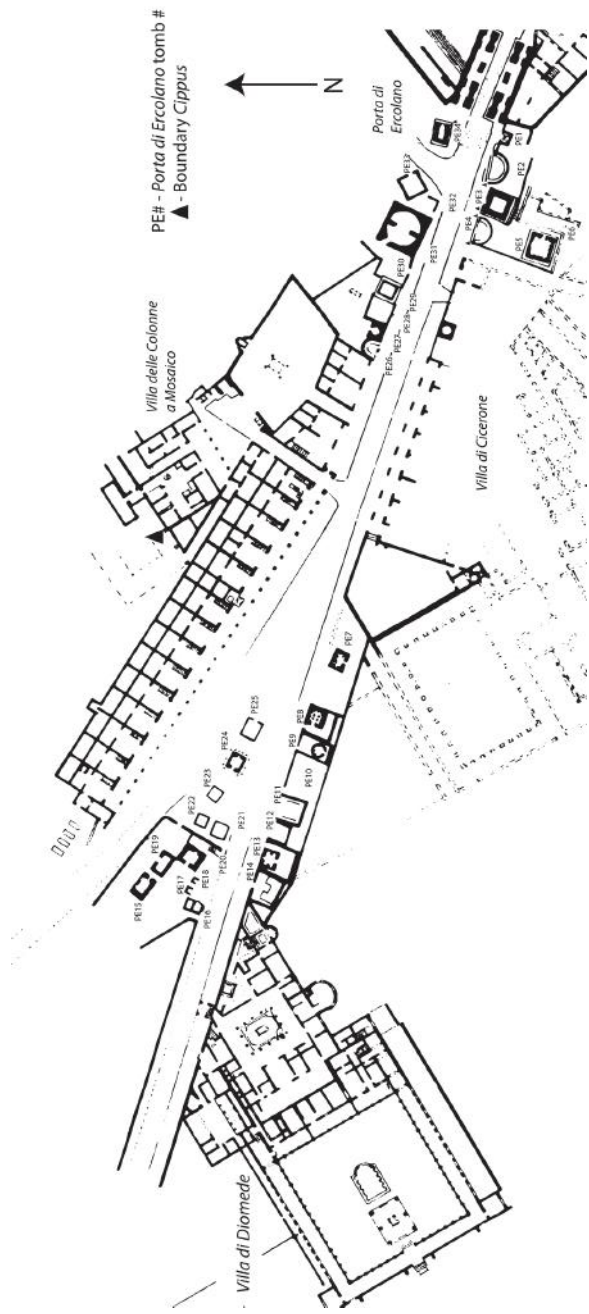


Figure A1.1 Plan of necropolis at Porta di Ercolano

PORTA DI ERCOLANO

The necropolis at Porta di Ercolano (Figure A1.1) contains thirty-four extant tombs, interspersed among shops and suburban villas that line the aptly named Via di Sepolcri. Originally excavated in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these monuments are in the worst state of preservation of those found in all of the *necropoleis* associated with the city of Pompeii. As a result, inscriptions are one element of which there are fewer than in other cemeteries. The first scholarly publication of the tombs was part of the comprehensive book on Pompeii by Overbeck and Mau (1884). Mau later published his own book in both English (1899), and German (1900), which was revised and expanded just prior to his death (English 1908; German 1908). Writing nearly sixty years later, Toynbee (1971) cites Mau as still the most complete description of the tombs of Pompeii (despite the fact that additional structures had been excavated in the interim), and thus repeats his commentary with virtually no new information. Others have written on the subject, but the principal source used by current scholars is Kockel’s *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*, published in 1983 (Toynbee 1971: 119–126; Richardson 1988: 184–188, 246–257, 361–367; von Hesberg 1992; 1994; Clarke 2003: 184–187; Carroll 2006: 94–96; Hackworth Petersen 2006: 61–75).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE1	1 south	Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus
<i>Type</i>	vaulted niche	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Façade: 6.02; extant height: 2.50; niche width: 1.90; niche depth: 1.83; niche height: 2.20.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Deep vaulted niche with benches lining the interior and flanking exterior walls. Constructed of tufa reticulate with some quoining on the edges, east side built directly against the outer face of the city wall. Once contained herm and small altar, all lost since excavation. Most of tomb reconstructed in 1977, after which the inscription no longer fit in original location. Because of extensive reconstruction not possible to determine original superstructure; supposition may have been gable or pediment like PE26 (Figure A1.2).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Painted plaster walls, some remains of red lines at rear of niche, but no other remains though stucco decoration suspected. Herm depicting deceased as Mercury with winglets and staff (now lost), which may have link to business success or membership	

in *Augustales*; popular along with Fortuna as representation of deification. (cf. Wrede 1971: 157–166; 1981: 81, 88, 273–274).

Inscription(s)

Reference

CIL X 994 (cf. p. 967), *non vidi*

Location

Marble tablet originally embedded in rear of niche

Text

M(arcus) Cerrinius / Restitutus / augustalis. Loc(us) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

[Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, augustalis. Place given by decree of the decuriones.]

Reference

CIL X 995 (cf. p. 967), *non vidi*

Location

Travertine altar, lost

Text

[M(arcus) C]errinius / [Re]stitutus / [augustalis]. / [Loco dato] / [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)].

[Marcus Cerrinius Restitutus, augustalis. Place given by decree of the decuriones.]

Date

Basis of Date

AD 62–70

Deceased known from the Iucundus Tablets, active in AD 52–62 (CIL IV 3340.70, 3340.76).



Figure A1.2 PE1 and PE2

(Continued)



Figure A1.3 Fill layers between PE1 and PE2

Comments

Close examination of the masonry between tombs PE1 and PE2 shows at least two phases of construction filling the space (Figure A1.3). The material of the fill is composed of large lava stones and rubble with mortar (cement). A small piece of painted plaster can be seen on the interior side of the first layer of fill, closest to PE1. This suggests that it may be part of an earlier structure that pre-dates PE1. Likely the earlier tomb fell into disrepair or was damaged in the earthquake, clearing space for the construction of a new monument.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 408–409); Toynbee (1971: 122); Kockel (1983: 47–51, Taf. 4); Richardson (1988: 367); Franklin (2001: 180); Hackworth-Petersen (2006: 72–73); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE2	2 south	Aulus Veius
Type	Schola	

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 7.18; depth: 3.74; extant height: 0.92.
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, rubble masonry
<i>Form</i>	Bench of wedge-shape tufa blocks (range 0.45–0.70 in width) on <i>opus incertum</i> platform constructed to level structure on sloping terrain (between 0.20 and 0.52 height), accessed by centrally placed steps. Foundation remains at midpoint of hollow base (0.75 by 0.50), inscription tablet originally inserted in tufa slab on front of base, likely used to support statue or column (see PV3 and PN2). <i>Opus incertum</i> wall supports rear of bench, upper portions modern reconstruction but lower segments original ancient construction (Figure A1.2).
<i>Decoration</i>	Terminal lion paws on end of bench, only east one preserved well. A marble statue of unspecified sex (only torso remains) found just south of tomb but unclear if provenance is PE2 or PE5 .
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 996 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet, formerly inserted in base at midpoint of bench
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulo) Veio M(arci) f(ilio) IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / iter(um) quinq(uennali) trib(un)o / milit(um) ab popul(o) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i> [To Aulus Veius, son of Marcus, duovir with judicial powers for the second time, quinquennalis, military tribune of the people, by decree of the decurions.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
27 BC–AD 14	Office of <i>tribunus militum a populo</i> exclusively Augustan ¹

Comments

Supporting wall of **PE2** covers the second inscribed *cippus* of **PE3**.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 409); Toynbee (1971: 12); Kockel (1983: 51–53, Taf. 5–6a); Richardson (1988: 254); Franklin (2004: 24).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE3	3 south	Marcus Porcius
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	North: 5.95; west: 5.96; extant height: 1.27–2.38	

(Continued)

Enclosure Dimensions

n/a

Materials

Tufa, travertine

Form

Altar tomb built on foundations of lava *opus caementicium*, *opus incertum* and basalt blocks with remains of travertine profile still *in situ* on northeast corner of substructure. Hollow structure (possibly a tomb chamber but no urn ever found) that is believed to have collapsed in AD 79. Extent of burial area marked by two inscribed lava *cippi* serving as termini, one obscured by PE2 and the other still *in situ*, indicate area of twenty-five square feet. Ground level appeared to be raised in antiquity; excavators believed inscription was partially hidden even then. Fragments of decoration allow for limited reconstruction, but unclear extent of original height or placement of primary inscription (Figure A1.4).

Decoration

Fragments of travertine pulvini, volutes, and Doric frieze. Four-and-a-half metopes of frieze, separated by three vertical bands survive in pieces; metopes contain boucrania, rosettes and paterae. Remains of frieze total approximately 2.20 by 0.40.

Inscription(s)



Figure A1.4 PE3, PE4, and PE5

Reference	CIL X 997 (cf. p. 967) = I ² 1637 (cf. p. 1014) = ILLRP 650, <i>vidi</i>
Location	One lava <i>cippus</i> , <i>vidi</i>
Text	M(arci) Porci / M(arci) f(ili) ex dec(urionum) / decret(o). In / frontem / ped(es) XXV / in agrum / ped(es) XXV. [(Monument) of Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, by decree of the decuriones, twenty-five feet in front, twenty-five feet in depth.] ²
Date	Basis of Date
70–50 BC	<i>terminus post quem</i> 70 BC (CIL X 800, X 844, X 852).

Comments

Marcus Porcius is one of two early magistrates from the colonial period known for his involvement in building works that included the Temple of Apollo, the small theatre and the amphitheatre. Welch (2007: 76–77) dates the construction of the *theatrum tectum* and the amphitheatre to 75 and 70 BC, respectively, because of the inclusion of the office of *quinquennales* in the amphitheatre inscription only.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 410–411); Toynbee (1971: 122–123); Kockel (1983: 53–57, Taf.6–8); Richardson (1988: 184); Ling (2005: 79).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE4	4 south	Mammia
Type	<i>Schola</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 6.60; depth: 4.0; extant height: 0.84.	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Nocera tufa, basalt	
Form	Bench of tufa slabs on foundation of <i>opus caementicium</i> raised 0.40–0.46 above sidewalk with two tufa steps (one modern restoration) at centre. Rear support of basalt <i>opus incertum</i> . Large Augustan-style letters carved in rear of bench originally filled with red paint (Figure A1.4).	
Decoration	Terminal lions' paws.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	CIL X 998 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6369	
Location	Inscribed in back of bench, <i>vidi</i>	

(Continued)

Text	<i>M[am?]miae P(ubli) f(iliae) sacerdoti publicae locus sepultur(ae) datus decurionum decreto.</i> [To Mammia, daughter of Publius, public priestess, the place of the tomb given by decree of the decurions.]
Date	Basis of Date
27 BC – AD 14	Style of lettering and date of the Temple of Genius Augusti (CIL X 816; Gradel 1992; Dobbins 1992; Fishwick 1995).

Comments

After excavation in 1763 bench was removed for display in Portici. Upon return to Pompeii in 1784 became apparent the bench had been damaged. Original drawings from excavation show name as Mammia, whereas on return, it was recorded as M[a]mia. Kockel (1983: 58) argues that the terminal lion's paws are pushed farther in from the edge of the platform: the eastern one by 0.08 and the western by 0.21, illustrating something was missing and the bench was no longer the same size. Furthermore, the inscribed segments of the bench range from 0.5 to 0.6 with exception of second block which is only 0.3, thus appearing broken; potentially could have been inscribed with the missing *am* (Figure A1.5).

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 410); Toynbee (1971: 122); Kockel (1983: 57–59, Taf. 9–10); Richardson (1988: 254); Sertā (1995–1996; 1996).



Figure A1.5 Broken bench segment of PE4

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE5	4A south	the Istacidii
Type	<i>tholos</i> (?)	
Tomb	North: 5.75; south: 5.77; east: 5.90; west: 5.84;	
Dimensions	height: 10.0 (approx.)	
Enclosure	n/a	
Dimensions		
Materials	Tufa, brick, concrete	
Form	Located about 2 metres below street level behind PE4, on artificial terrace supported by <i>opus incertum</i> walls correcting sloping ground. Shorter walls of terrace interrupted with arches creating balustrade. Excavated in multiple phases in 18th c., found largely destroyed, with highest intact wall reaching 4 metres on north side. Square pediment of tufa, <i>opus incertum</i> and tiles (at rear), above engaged colonnade of four half-columns of brick with stucco fluting on each side interspersed with horizontal stucco decoration on walls. Superstructure debated but most likely round, with conical roof supported by columns creating second storey filled with statues. Columns currently <i>in situ</i> as part of superstructure restored by Maiuri, but Kockel (1983: 65–66) believes they actually belong to PE31. Chamber with barrel vaulted ceiling and central square pillar, four arched niches in south and west walls, two large arched niches in north wall, door flanked by two small niches in east. Nineteen <i>columellae</i> found in area, many inscribed. Further small adjacent areas (4b–d) seem related as it would have been necessary to pass through them to access PE5, but they were obliterated during excavation, covered with excess debris (Figure A1.4).	
Decoration	Third-style painting in tomb chamber. Fragments of seven statues of marble or limestone: one wears imperial toga, one with a ring on a finger, and various bits of garments. Due to poor remains and confusion of Maiuri's reconstruction unclear which columnar order.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	CIL X 999 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6370 = Hübner (1885) Nr. 141, <i>non vidi</i>	
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>	

(Continued)

<i>Text</i>	<i>Istacidia N(umeri) f(ilia) / Rufilla sacerd(os) / publica.</i> [Istacidia Rufilla, daughter of Numerius, public priestess.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1005 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>N(umerio) Istacidio / Campano.</i> [To Numerius Istacidius Campanus.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1013 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Venerius / Epaphroditus.</i> [Gaius Venerius Epaphroditus.] ³
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1006 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Tufa <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Istacid- / i Crisyri.</i> ⁴
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1016 (cf. p. 967) ⁵ , <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Tufa <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>NI·H·Y·AS / NI·NVPO·P.</i> ⁶
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1007 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Basalt <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>N(umerius) / Istac[id]i(us) N(umeri) f(ili) / Menoecus.</i> [Numerius Istacidius Menoecus, son of Numerius.] ⁷
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1004 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble of unknown form
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(uci - - -) Ist[acidi - - -].</i> [Lucius Istacidius.] ⁸
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1015 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>Cippus</i> of unknown material
<i>Text</i>	<i>SVEXPIILA / CLLCIX.</i> ⁹
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1008 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cn(aeus) Melissaesus / Aper.</i> [Gnaeus Melissaesus Aper.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1014 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Three marble fragments of an inscription
<i>Text</i>	<i>a [- - -]IRA</i> <i>b [- - -](mulieris sc. liberta) Iole (?)</i> ¹⁰ <i>c [- - -]Meli]ssae (?)</i> ¹¹
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1017 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Fragment of marble statue of a foot on a plinth
<i>Text</i>	<i>[- - -]XIT.</i> [Most likely a verb ending, such e.g. vixit]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 25–50	Post-dates tomb of Mammia; Third-style decoration.

Comments

Number of minor finds such as nails, buttons, knobs, and flasks. Lack of urns in chamber combined with discovery of lamp and terracotta urn about 2 metres above ancient ground level taken as evidence tomb was plundered in antiquity.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 411–412); Toynbee (1971: 125–126); Kockel (1983: 60–67, Taf. 11–14); Richardson (1988: 252–253); von Hesberg (1994: 139); Rispoli (2000–2001).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE6	4E and 4F south	The Buccii and Melissaei
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	
<i>Tomb</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Materials</i>	Marble, limestone	
<i>Form</i>	A scattered grouping of <i>columellae</i> in an enclosure adjacent to PE5 that has no monumental structure. Any trace of original demarcation or location of burials was destroyed after excavation. Because there are <i>columellae</i> dedicated to members of the Melissaei family also associated with tomb PH5, the families and burial plots are assumed to be linked by marriage.	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1000 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	A(ulus) Buccius / Victor v(ixit) a(nnis) XIIIX. [Aulus Buccius Victor, lived eighteen years.]	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1001 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	Bucia Apta. [Buc(c)ia Apta.]	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1002 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	Apta Buccia / vixit ann[(is) - - -]. [Apta Buccia lived ? years.]	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1012 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	

(Continued)

<i>Text</i>	<i>Fortunatus / vixit annis II.</i> [Fortunatus lived two years.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1009 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 8055, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Melissaeae / Amyces / Iunoni.</i> [To the Iuno of Melissaea Amyce.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1010 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Melissaea / Cn(aei) l(iberta) Asia.</i> [Melissaea Asia, freedwoman of Gnaeus.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1011 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Melissea Sp(urii) f(ilia) / Asiaticae vix(it) / annis XVIII.</i> [Melissaea Asiaticae, daughter of Spurius, lived eighteen years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 25–50	Association with PE5

Comments

Bibliography

Kockel (1983: 69–70).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE7	16 south	Aulus Umbricius Scaurus
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	Width: 4.26; depth: 3.59; extant height: 4.60.	
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	24.89 by 8.28	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, marble, cruma, basalt	
<i>Form</i>	Altar tomb in large enclosure; enclosure walls of <i>opus incertum</i> repaired numerous times in both antiquity and after excavation, so original height unknown. Enclosure itself has no trace of door or gate; believed to be garden and planted as such in early 20th c. Substructure of tomb covered in dark tufa, with two bands of orthostats and a profile cornice topped by two steps with reused marble revetment; altar above.	

	Chamber entered from rear; posts and lintel of large basalt blocks; barrel vaulted ceiling, earth floor. Walls of cruma <i>opus incertum</i> covered with plaster containing reeds; five <i>loculi</i> cut into chamber walls but no urns found. Not complete at time of eruption; believed earlier tomb (to which inscription belongs) damaged or destroyed in earthquake, and was in process of being rebuilt (Figure A1.6).
Decoration	Marble vine on corners of altar; volutes with rosettes.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	CIL X 1024 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6366, <i>vidi</i>
Location	Marble slab, erroneously placed on PE8 (cf. Campbell 2010)
Text	<i>A(ulo) Umbricio A(uli) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) / Scauro / Ilvir(o) i(i)ure d(icundo). / Huic decuriones locum monum(enti) / et (sestertium) <duo milia> in funere et statuam equestr(em) / [in f]loro ponendam censuerunt. / Scaurus pater filio.</i>



Figure A1.6 PE7, PE8, and PE9

(Continued)

	[To Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian tribe, duovir with judicial powers. The decurions decreed him the space for this monument and two thousand sesterces for the funeral and an equestrian statue to be erected in the forum. Scaurus senior, for his son.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1023 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 8053, <i>non vidi</i> ¹²
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i> (female)
<i>Text</i>	<i>Iunoni / Tyches Iuliae / Augustae (sc. servae?) Vener(iae)</i> . ¹³
	[To the Iuno of Tyche, (slave) of Julia Augusta, worshipper of Venus.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 40–62	Inscription likely Augustan (see Campbell 2010); monument shows earthquake damage, style of decorative elements on side of altar.

Comments

Aulus Umbricius Scaurus is one of the few for whom both tomb and house have been identified. His house, located not far from Porta di Ercolano in the Insula Occidentalis (VII.16.12–15), has been studied particularly for its mosaics that depict the *garum* the family manufactured. Cf. Curtis (1984).

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 418); Toynbee (1971: 124); Kockel (1983: 70–75, Taf. 15–17); Curtis (1988b); Richardson (1988: 247); Campbell (2008: 40; 2010).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE8	17 south	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 4.00; depth: 3.90; extant height of pediment: 2.66, reconstructed height: 5.59.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	6.57 by 7.00	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, brick, basalt	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure roughly square, walls surviving up to 2 metres of basalt <i>opus incertum</i> with some bricks covered with red painted plaster; enclosure floor of tamped soil and mortar. Altar integrated with enclosure walls in northeast corner; façade consists of substructure of altar and enclosure entrance of plastered brick; topped with cornice, sequence of orthostats, a second cornice, and two registers of stucco decoration. Tufa door posts	

with basalt threshold and lintel. Some modern restoration of façade substructure and crown mouldings above stucco reliefs. Altar primarily of brick covered with plaster painted white on south and west sides; one level of orthostats; substructure topped with three steps before altar superstructure; excavators found hole left by tomb raiders; altar reconstructed when inscription of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus was attached; total height of original structure unknown.¹⁴ Chamber entered from west; basalt threshold and lintel; tufa walls covered with white plaster; concrete floor; barrel vaulted ceiling with central pillar. Pillar has *loculus* with urn visible from all four sides; fragments of thick glass found in chamber believed to have covered the *loculus*. Four *loculi* in three walls, two in wall with door. Shafts cut into south and east walls to let in light (Figure A1.6).

Decoration

Stucco relief on three steps of altar and façade of substructure with scenes of gladiatorial combat and a *venatio*. Individual gladiators and victories identified by *dipinti*. Upper register on façade divided by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals framing enclosure door; purely decorative, of no architectural importance. Reliefs restored soon after excavation but were quickly destroyed by frost.

Inscription(s)

Reference

CIL X 1025 (cf. p. 967), *vidi* (photo only)

Location

Marble fragments found in street

Text

----- / [---]mic+¹⁵ [---] / [---]
 Q¹⁶ est / [--- o]rnamenta¹⁷ / [--- ob ---]
 as et munificentiam eius¹⁸ / [--- Oli]o (?)
 Secundo patri et¹⁹ / [--- e]t C(aio) Olio
 Hermae heredibus / [---] Marciae Auge et
 Rustiae / [---]jae et Oliae Secundae / [---
 datu]m (?)²⁰ ex testamento.
 [(...) is (...) ornaments (...) due to
 (...) and his/her munificence (...) to
 [---]us Secundus senior, and (...) and
 Gaius Olius Herma, to the heirs, (...) to
 Marcia Auge and Rustia (...) and
 [---]a and Olia Secunda, (...) (given?)
 according to his/her will.]

(Continued)

<i>Reference</i>	<i>CIL IV 1182, non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>dipinti</i> on stucco gladiatorial relief
<i>Text</i>	<i>Munere [N(umeri) Fes]ti Ampliati d[i]e summo.</i> [During the games of Numerius Festius Ampliatus.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 62–79	Style of stucco reliefs; plaster covering part of wall of PE9

Comments

Kockel (1983: 83–85) argues that Numerius Festius Ampliatus was the commissioner of this tomb, who organised gladiatorial games, was rewarded for this (possibly posthumously) and depicted these games on his tomb. As he appears in *graffiti* elsewhere in Pompeii (*CIL IV 1183*), I am more inclined to follow Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980: 62–69), who views N. Festius Ampliatus as the *editor* of the games, possibly linked to one of the local gladiatorial schools, who was hired by the occupant of the tomb to put on the games. In his review of Sabbatini Tumolesi, Ling (1983: 209) attributes the inclusion of the name of N. Festius Ampliatus as a ‘reflect[ion of] the exceptional fame of the impresario’ hired. The actual builder of the tomb remains unclear; if the inscription found nearby discussed above is correctly attributed to this tomb, it includes names of the heirs only, not the person responsible for the monument.

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I Pl. 30–32); Mau (1908: 418–420); Toynbee (1971: 124); Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980: 62–69); Kockel (1983: 75–85, Taf. 18–21a); Richardson (1988: 362–363); Jacobelli (2003: 90–92).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE9	18 south	Gaius Fabius Secundus (?)
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tholos</i>	
<i>Tomb</i>	Pedestal (n) 3.25; (s) 3.27; (e) ca. 3.25; (w) 3.30; height of pedestal (n) 1.05; (s) 0.85; diameter of drum: 3.20; height of drum: 4.30.	
<i>Enclosure</i>	(n) 4.65; (s) 4.60; (e) 8.04; (w) 7.97; height: 2.0–2.35	
<i>Dimensions</i>		
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure wall foundation of tufa blocks, brick walls covered with white painted plaster. Façade wall stucco drafted into four rows of orthostats; other walls left smooth. Front wall approximately 0.30 lower than side and rear walls; uninscribed marble tablet embedded in façade. Enclosure entrance had locked wooden door/shutters; threshold, lintel and posts blocks of tufa. East and west enclosure walls each	

have three merlons capped with pyramid with stucco reliefs on front face; reliefs no longer visible and merlons mostly modern reconstruction. Pedestal of tomb joins enclosure wall; slightly irregular square pedestal of tufa covered with thick layers of mortar and white painted plaster; simple profile separating pedestal base from *tholos*; drum of brick covered with mortar and white painted plaster drafted in three rows of orthostats; crown unknown and currently boasts modern cement reconstruction but thought to be cone shaped with crenulations originally. Hole in side of drum where inscription was once embedded. Chamber entered from rear through locked door; three steps down into round chamber with a flat ceiling that curves where it meets interior walls finished with cornice; floor of white *opus signium*; two rectangular *loculi*, one large arched *loculus* opposite entrance; all contained terracotta urns; lidded urn in large niche contained ash and bone (Figure A1.6–7).

Decoration

Three stucco reliefs on merlons recorded by Mazois; chamber walls with simplistic Fourth-style painting.



Figure A1.7 PE9, PE10, and PE11

(Continued)

Inscription(s)	
Reference	CIL X 1003 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	Broken marble plaque, lost
Text	[C(aio) F]abio Secundo. / Marcia Aucta ²¹ / uxor / fecit et sibi et / Fabiae C(ai) f(iliae) Gratinae / filiae. [To Gaius Fabius Secundus. Made by Marcia Aucta, his wife, also for herself and Fabia Gratina, daughter of Gaius, their daughter.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 50–79	Fourth-style decoration; older than both PE8 and PE10.

Comments

Inscription supposedly found when excavating the Villa of Cicero and supposedly matches dimensions of hole in the drum of the tomb. Was kept in Naples Museum but now lost. One of two tombs at Porta di Ercolano with *graffiti* or *dipinti*: CIL IV 88–90, 1205.

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I: Pl. 28–29); Mau (1908: 420); Toynbee (1971: 123); Kockel (1983: 85–90, Taf. 21–22); Richardson (1988: 364); Wallace (2005: 36 n. 7); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE10	19 south	Unknown
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) 9.52; (s) 8.70; (e) 8.30; (w) 8.07; height: 1.30 (exterior); 0.80 (interior)	
Materials	Tufa	
Form	Wall of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> , largely modern restoration. Enclosure created by building façade wall only, used pre-existing walls of PE9 and PE11 as sides of enclosure, no rear wall. Lack of rear wall creates larger area, making it possible to move from the area of PE10 behind both PE11 and PE12. One uninscribed basalt <i>columella</i> found near front wall, facing into enclosure (Figure A1.7).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		

<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
ca. AD 50–79	Younger than both PE9 and PE11

*Comments**Bibliography*

Mau (1908: 421); Kockel (1983: 90).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE11	20 south	Gaius Calventius Quietus
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Pedestal: 3.83 by 3.53; height: 1.49; altar: 1.73 by 1.41; height: 2.25; total height: 4.72	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.10; (s) 6.11; (e) 6.46; (w) 6.46; height: (n) 1.02; (s) 3.58; (e) 2.14; (w) 2.05	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, brick, tufa, marble	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure walls of basalt <i>opus incertum</i> , brick and tufa <i>opus listatum</i> covered with white painted plaster; front wall lower for visibility; no enclosure entrance; east and west walls have three merlons capped with pyramids; rear wall with pediment with stucco reliefs and uninscribed marble plaque embedded in tympanum. Monument not quite in middle of enclosure; pedestal of tufa and brick <i>opus listatum</i> covered in stucco drafted as orthostats; three steps with marble revetment topped by marble altar. No tomb chamber (Figure A1.7–8).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Altar richly decorated with ornamental base and profile, other reliefs framed by vine; on front, <i>bisellium</i> with cushion and footstool under inscription, and identical depictions of <i>corona civica</i> on east and west sides; oak wreaths are tied with two ribbons, possibly indicating they were meant to be hung; volutes with ram's heads. Mythological stucco reliefs on merlons including depictions of Oedipus and Theseus and in tympanum of a winged figure, lotus, flowers, and leaves, all now lost but recorded by Mazois. Cornice still contains some of original stucco egg and dart decoration.	

Inscription(s)

(Continued)



Figure A1.8 PE11, PE12, and PE13

<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1026 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6372, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble on front of altar
<i>Text</i>	C(aio) Calventio Quieto / augustali. / Huic ob munificent(iam) decurionum / decreto et populi conse(n)su ²² bisellii / honor datus est.[To Gaius Calventius Quietus, augustalis. For his munificence he was given the honour of the bisellium by decree of the decuriones and (with) the consent of the people.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–70	Appears as witness on Iucundus Tablets for AD 50 (CIL IV 3340.50; IV 3340.87); lettering of inscription Claudian/Neronian

Comments

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I: Pl. 24–27); Mau (1908: 421–422); Toynbee (1971: 124–125); Kockel (1983: 90–97, Taf. 23–25); Richardson (1988: 361–362); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 62–63); Emmerson (2011); Campbell (2015).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE12	21 south	Numerius Istacidius Helenus
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.41; (s) 4.75; (e) 4.47 ; (w) 4.41; height: (n) 1.40; (s) 0.85; (e) 0.89; (w) 1.03	
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, limestone, basalt	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure of brick, limestone, and basalt <i>opus incertum</i> walls covered with white painted plaster of which little remains; merlons crowned with pyramids at corners; some restoration to walls so original height unknown. At south-east corner some fortification to make wall of PE12 meet newer construction of PE11. Marble plaque with inscription embedded in façade wall; no entrance to enclosure. Three <i>columellae</i> , two inscribed, found in enclosure; marble plates on the ground in front of stones covering libation tubes connected to buried urns. Kockel questions third <i>columella</i> as not in original excavation report but recorded later by Mau et al. Clay urn with ashes, unidentifiable coins found. Also fragment of marble head, marble architectural fragment, but of dubious provenance (Figure A1.8).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1027 (cf. p. 967–968 ²³) = ILS 6379, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble plaque in enclosure wall	
<i>Text</i>	N(umerio) Istacidio Heleno / pag(ano) pag(i) Aug(usti) / N(umerio) Istacidio Ianuario / Mesoniae Satullae. In agro / pedes XV in fronte <p>edes XV. ²⁴ [To Numerius Istacidius Helenus, member of the pagus Augustus, to Numerius Istacidius Ianuarius, to Mesonia Satulla. Depth fifteen feet, fifteen feet in front.]	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1028 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	N(umerius) Istacidius / Helenus pag(anus). [Numerius Istacidius Helenus, paganus.]	

(Continued)

<i>Reference</i>	<i>CIL</i> X 1029 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Istacidiae Scapidi.</i> [To <i>Istacidia Scapis.</i>]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 25–50	<i>Terminus post quem</i> of 7 BC for earliest attestation of <i>pagus Augusti</i> (<i>CIL</i> X 924); PE11 younger—plaster at rear covers where two walls between tombs meet; PE13 also likely younger but restoration work interferes; thought to be freedmen of PE5

Comments

Inscription states area of enclosure is 15-square Roman feet, but variant thickness of east (0.34–0.74) and west (0.30–0.50) walls makes interior space trapezoidal, not matching measurement given.

Bibliography

Toynbee (1971: 122); Kockel (1983: 98–100, Taf. 26); Richardson (1988: 257); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE13	22 south	Naevoleia Tyche
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Pediment: (s) 4.10; (e) 3.15; (w) 3.15; height: 2.66; altar: width: 2.27; depth: 1.84; height: 2.42	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.95; (s) 7.10; (e) 7.95; (w) 8.00; height: 3.10	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, marble, limestone, basalt, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure with façade of inset tufa blocks with corners of <i>opus incertum</i> framed with large tufa slabs; door to enclosure to left; east, west, and south enclosure walls of <i>opus incertum</i> basalt, limestone, and tufa; white painted plaster preserved only on lower half of walls; merlons capped with pyramids at corners. In south-east corner of enclosure brick bench with white painted plaster; small niche between western wall and monument with two <i>columellae</i> . Monument incorporated into façade; tufa blocks with white painted plaster; euthynteria, chamber door frame, and cornice project out from pedestal; altar built on top of two steps with marble revetment; altar also covered in marble. Chamber entered from rear; segmental vault	

ceiling of *opus caementicium*; shaft for light in east; floor tamped earth; walls and vault covered with white painted plaster. Bench on three sides of chamber; three arched *loculi* below each bench; other arched *loculi* in walls as well as one large central rectangular *loculus* with urn. Total of three glass cinerary urns; four terracotta urns, and eighteen lamps found in chamber; two lamps secured on either side of urn in rectangular *loculus*, remainder dumped in corner (Figure A1.8–9).

Decoration

Reliefs on three sides of altar framed by acanthus scrolls; front: small bust of Naevoleia Tyche framed with wooden shutters above inscription; depiction of distribution of grain beneath inscription; *bisellium* on east side; large ship on west side. Elaborate cornice with dentils, egg and dart, acanthus leaves; volutes.

Inscription(s)

Reference

CIL X 1030 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6373, *vidi*

Location

Marble on front of altar

Text

*Naevoleia L(uci) lib(erta) Tyche sibi et / C(aio) Munatio Fausto aug(ustali) et pagano, / cui decuriones consensu populi / bisellium ob merita eius decreverunt. / Hoc monimentum Naevoleia Tyche libertis suis / libertabusq(ue) et C(ai) Munati Fausti viva fecit.*²⁵

[Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, for herself and Gaius Munatius Faustus, augustalis and paganus, who was decreed the *bisellium* for his merits by the *decuriones* and the consent of the people. This monument was built by Naevoleia Tyche for her freedmen and freedwomen, and those of Gaius Munatius Faustus, whilst alive.]

Reference

CIL X 1031 (cf. p. 967), *non vidi*

Location

Marble *columella*

Text

C(aius) Munatius / Atimetus vix(it) / annis LVII.
[Gaius Munatius Atimetus, lived fifty-seven years.]

Reference

CIL X 1032 (cf. p. 967), *non vidi*

Location

Marble *columella*

Text

*Salvius puer / vixit annis VI.*²⁶
[Salvius, boy, lived six years.]

Date

Basis of Date

AD 50–60

Terminus post quem of Claudius for hairstyle on bust of Naevoleia Tyche ; style of decorative elements; older than PE14

(Continued)



Figure A1.9 PE13 and PE14

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 421–424); Toynbee (1971: 125); Kockel (1983: 100–109, Taf. 27–30); Richardson (1988: 247–248); von Hesberg (1994: 14, 176, 204, 212, 218); Hope (1997a: 82–83); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 66–69, 74–75); Clarke (2003: 184–185); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE14	23 south	Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus
Type	<i>Triclinium</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Length of <i>triclinium</i> : <i>lectus medius</i> : 5.13, <i>lectus imus</i> (east side): 3.27; <i>lectus summus</i> (west side): 2.75	
Enclosure Dimensions	Façade: 7.66; interior walls: (n) 6.23; (s) 5.77; (e) 5.57; (w) 4.26; Height: façade: 2.85; (n) 2.87; (s) 1.90; (e) 2.20; (w) 2.00	
Materials	tufa, brick,	

<i>Form</i>	Enclosure walls of tufa <i>opus reticulatum</i> ; façade longer than interior space; gabled with wooden door reinforced with tufa blocks set centrally; inscription embedded in tympanum above door; inscription and gable underwent modern restoration. Steps are modern addition as excavators dug too deep, beyond ancient street level. Walls originally covered with painted plaster now lost. Rear half of enclosure contained brick <i>triclinium</i> with central table; table now gone, little remains of couches (Figure A1.9).
<i>Decoration</i>	Interior walls painted in Fourth style, now destroyed but recorded by Mazois
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1033 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Tablet above entrance; reconstruction (original marble tablet lost)
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cn(aeo) Vibrio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Fal(erna tribu) / Saturnino / Callistus (mulieris) lib(ertus).</i> [To Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus, son of Quintius, member of the Falernian tribe, (built by) Callistus, freedman of a woman.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 62–79	Freedman Gnaeus Vibrius Callistus is a witness on the Iucundus Tablets for the year AD 57 (CIL IV 3340.28, 61, 68, 71, 74, 75, 87, 102, 114); younger than PE13; Fourth style painting

Comments

As there are no remains of an urn or *columella* is unclear if tomb was ever used.
One *dipinto* on façade: CIL IV 87.

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I Pl. 20); Mau (1908: 424); Toynbee (1971: 119); Kockel (1983: 109–111, Taf. 23); Richardson (1988: 367); Graham (2005a: 58–59).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE15	43 north	Publius Sittius Diophantus (?)
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i> (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 5.39; (s) 5.39; (e) 3.60; (w) 3.52; extant height: 2.70	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, basalt, limestone	

(Continued)

<i>Form</i>	Rectangular pediment of basalt <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining at corners approximately 1.35 high; superstructure above inset by 0.17 to 0.53; superstructure also basalt <i>opus incertum</i> . with some other inclusions which may be result of reconstruction; some traces of plaster on south-west corner—possibly pilasters. Nearly identical to PE19. Chamber door on east side; posts and lintel of Sarnese limestone; chamber floor 3 m below ground level; barrel vaulted; traces of reeds embedded in walls but no trace of plaster; light shaft cut into eastern wall; two rectangular <i>loculi</i> in north wall. Collapsed column of bricks with stucco fluting found to the west of tomb; believed to belong to superstructure of tomb (Figure A1.10)
<i>Decoration</i>	None remaining, but likely some statues attributed to PE19 actually belong to this monument.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1034 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublius) Sittius Diophantus / augustalis.</i> [Publius Sittius Diophantus, augustalis.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1035 (cf. p. 967), ²⁸ <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Plaque of unknown material
<i>Text</i>	<i>[- - -]X²⁹ Ancile / [- - -]CILT Rufi / [- - -vi]xit an(nis) XX. [(. . .) Ancile (. . .) of Rufus, (. . .) lived twenty years.]</i>
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–50	Identical design and construction techniques as PE19

Comments

A basalt and limestone *opus incertum* wall runs from the southeast corner of the pediment towards the street, separating the areas of PE15–PE16 from PE17–PE20.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 444–445); Kockel (1983: 168–173; 183–184, Taf. 69); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 70–72); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE16	42 north	Marcus Arrius Diomedes

Type	<i>Aedicula</i>
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 2.45; (s) 2.50; (e) 1.55; (w) 1.55; extant height: 2.70
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a
Materials	Basalt, cement, bricks
Form	Pedestal of <i>opus caementicum</i> of basalt with brick supports; originally covered in thick white plaster now mostly gone; orthostats and three levels of drafted ashlar above pediment framed with pilasters on corners; pilasters have projecting Corinthian capitals; inscription plaque embedded into top two layers of blocks; gabled superstructure no longer extant. No tomb chamber. North-east corner meets 1-m-high wall of <i>opus listatum</i> that connects to older <i>incertum</i> wall leading to PE15. Three <i>columellae</i> associated with monument, one marble female, one marble, and one basalt. A glass vase and a lead vase containing ashes and bone fragments found between <i>columellae</i> on west side (Figure A1.10).
Decoration	Corinthian capitals on pilasters still partially <i>in situ</i> on east side; pair of elongated <i>fascēs</i> beneath inscription. Stucco work imitates a <i>prostyle aedicula</i> .
Inscription(s)	
Reference	CIL X 1042 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6378, <i>vidi</i>
Location	Marble plaque embedded in tomb
Text	<i>M(arcus) Arrius (mulieris) l(ibertus) Diomedes / sibi et suis memoriae. / Magister pag(i) Aug(usti) F(elicis) suburb(ani).</i> ³⁰ [Marcus Arrius Diomedes, freedman of a woman, for himself and his, in memory. Magister of the pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus.]
Reference	CIL X 1043 (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6378a, <i>vidi</i>
Location	tufa plaque in retaining wall
Text	<i>Arriae M(arci) f(iliae) / Diomedes l(ibertus) sibi suis.</i> ³¹ [To Arria, daughter of Marcus, Diomedes, freedman, for himself and his.]
Reference	CIL X 1045 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	marble <i>columella</i>
Text	<i>M(arco) Arrio / Primogeni.</i> [To Marcus Arrius Primogenes.]
Reference	CIL X 1044 (cf. p. 967)

(Continued)

Location	marble <i>columella</i> (female), <i>vidi</i>
Text	<i>Arriae M(arci) l(ibertae) / Utili.</i> [To Arria Utilis, freedwoman of Marcus.]
Reference	NSA (1946) 129, <i>non vidi</i>
Location	limestone tablet
Text	<i>Arri[us] H[er]mes / patri fec(it) / de suo.</i> [Arrius Hermes made this for his father from his own money.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 40–60	wall construction; inscription font; stucco with high orthostats in fashion at time

Comments

Use of two *fascēs* outside of Rome indicates holding of local magistrate such as *duo-vir*, *aedile*, *quattorvir*, and *Augustalis*; this is the only magister of a *paganus* for whom *fascēs* are attested in Pompeii.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 444–445); Kockel (1983: 168–173, Taf. 67–68; 180–182); Richardson (1988: 251–252).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE17	41 north	Numerius Velasius Gratus
Type	Niche	
Tomb	(n) 1.32; (s) 1.38; (e) 1.44; (w) 1.34; extant height: 1.90.	
Dimensions		
Enclosure	n/a	
Dimensions		
Materials	Limestone, tufa, volcanic slag	
Form	<i>Opus incertum</i> walls of limestone, tufa, and volcanic slag mostly restored; topped with gable now lost; rectangular exterior but interior of niche is semicircular with half-dome ceiling; very little stucco remains. Basalt <i>columella</i> in middle of apse; clay tube for libations in front of <i>columella</i> ; second broken basalt <i>columella</i> found in front of tomb (Figure A1.10).	
Decoration	Interior bore painting of young man in a tunic framed by garlands and ribbons.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	CIL X 1041 (cf. 967), <i>vidi</i>	
Location	Tufa plaque in retaining wall	



Figure A1.10 PE15, PE16, PE17, PE18, PE19, and PE20

<i>Text</i>	<i>N(umerio) Velasio Grato. / Vix(it) ann(is) XII.</i> [To Numerius Velasius Gratus. He lived twelve years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	Stonework of Imperial date; inscription font (like PE16); some family relationship to Arrii
<i>Comments</i>	

Bibliography
Mau (1908: 445); Toynbee (1971: 123); Kockel (1983: 168–173, Taf. 67–68; 180); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE18	40 north	Salvius ?
Type	niche	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 1.13; (s) 1.09; (e) 0.91; (w) 0.91; extant height: 0.95	
Enclosure		
Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Limestone, tufa	

(Continued)

Form	Small rectangular niche of limestone and tufa <i>opus incertum</i> construction; multiple phases of restoration; originally crowned with gable; interior covered with yellow painted plaster. Small basalt <i>columella</i> on east side of niche; piplet in rear wall leading into ground (Figure A1.10).
Decoration	Yellow painted stucco.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	CIL X 1032 (cf. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>
Text	<i>Salvius puer vixit annis VI.</i> ³² [Salvius, boy, lived six years.]
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	Similarity to PE17; construction

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 445); Toynbee (1971: 123); Kockel (1983: 168–173, Taf. 67; 179–180).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE19	39/39 A north	the Ceii (?)
Type	<i>Aedicula</i>	
Tomb		
Dimensions	(n) 5.38; (s) 5.38; (e) 3.57; (w) 3.52; height: 2.60	
Enclosure		
Dimensions	(n) 6.40; (s) 6.60; (e) 7.62; (w) 8.37; height: 1.20	
Materials	Basalt, tufa, Sarnese limestone, brick	
Form	Enclosure running behind both PE19 and PE20 of <i>opus incertum</i> walls; built into terrace wall in north and east; north and east walls have arched openings but wall is solid in south and west. Tomb long rectangle of <i>opus incertum</i> construction of basalt, tufa, Sarnese limestone with brick quoins at corners; pedestal 0.92 high; sloping stucco profile to meet superstructure, indented 0.45 on north, east and west sides, 0.15 on south. Likely superstructure was <i>aedicula</i> like others in area; five tufa statues found in area but unclear if attributed to PE19 or PE15; some remains of white painted plaster on south side; early photographs show tomb covered with stucco with pilasters at corners. Chamber entered from	

	rear through narrow door, not fully excavated; barrel vault with reeds in plaster like PE7 and PE15; shaft in west wall for light; upper half of seven rectangular <i>loculi</i> exposed in rear wall but no urns found. Three basalt <i>columellae</i> in front of chamber door; three others in area; fragments scattered in area between tombs that cannot be attributed with any certainty (Figure A1.10).
<i>Decoration</i>	Five tufa statues in area; two female, three male.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1037 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet ³³
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucio) Ceio L(uci) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Labeoni / iter(um)³⁴ d(uo)v(iro) i(iure) d(icundo) quinq(uennali). / Menomachus l(ibertus).</i> [To Lucius Ceius Labeo, son of Lucius, of the Menenian tribe, duovir with judicial powers for the second time, quinquennalis. Menomachus, freedman.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1038 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>Ceia L(uci) f(iliae) uxor[i].</i> [To Ceia, daughter of Lucius, wife.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1039 (cf. p. 967), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Travertine <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Ceius Com- / munis.³⁵</i> [Lucius Ceius Communis.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1040 (cf. p. 967; 968), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Ceius L(uci) l(ibertus) / Lucifer.³⁶</i> [Lucius Ceius Lucifer, freedman of Lucius.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1022 (cf. p. 967; 968), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Lucceia Ianuaria.</i> [Lucceia Ianuaria.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–50	Construction technique with use of Sarnese limestone and basalt; chamber similar to PE7; later than PE20

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 445–446); Toynbee (1971: 126); Kockel (1983: 168–173, Taf. 61–63, 65–66; 176–179); Richardson (1988: 249).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE20	38 north	Marcus Popidius (?)
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.53; (s) 4.58; (e) 5.24; (w) 5.20; extant height: 4.65	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt	
<i>Form</i>	Nearly square structure of basalt <i>opus incertum</i>; pedestal 2.75 m covered with white painted plaster; must have been stucco profile between storeys but none remains; superstructure indented 0.40 with pilasters divided into two registers of which little remains. Small opening in west wall leads to tomb chamber; no extant remains of ceiling; no discernible floor suggests it was excavated too deep; currently 1.40 m below ground level; small arched <i>loculus</i> in east wall; second <i>loculus</i> added at later date; no urns mentioned in excavation reports but one glass cinerary urn and two lead containers as well as two terracotta <i>lacrimatoria</i> found in vicinity (Figure A1.10).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Stucco on lower zone of lattice between pilasters, some remains on west side; figure of soldier with horse recorded by Mazois; upper register with garlands between pilasters. Three marble statues: heroic youth, female and togate male; marble column 2.57 m tall; slab of coffered ceiling 1.0 by 0.79.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 957 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Popidius Âp(pi) f(ilius).</i> [Marcus Popidius, son of Appius.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
30–1 BC	Construction entirely of basalt with no brick support; <i>terminus ante quem</i> PE19; inaccessibility of tomb chamber and small number of loculi; hairstyle on female statues; lack of <i>tria nomina</i>	

Comments

Illegible red *dipinti* painted on pedestal. The small number of niches in the chamber illustrates typological transition from individual to family monuments.

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I Pl. 16); Mau (1908: 445–446); Kockel (1983: 168–176, Taf. 61–64); Richardson (1988: 248–249).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE21	36 north ³⁷	the Alleii
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.42; (s) 3.42; € 3.44; (w) 3.40; extant height: 4.84	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Travertine	
<i>Form</i>	Constructed entirely of large travertine blocks; two levels form pedestal 1.23 m high; superstructure indented up to 0.08; four levels of blocks with inscription plaques embedded in uppermost level; cornice finishing altar topped with crown consisting of twelve blocks; two blocks on each side in crown carved into volutes and pulvini. No tomb chamber (Figure A1.11).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Volutes and pulvini with rosettes on ends.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1036 ³⁸ (cf. p. 967) = ILS 6365	
<i>Location</i>	Travertine plaque (south side of monument facing street)	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arco) Alleio Luccio Libellae patri aedili / Ilvir(o) praefecto quinq(uennali) et M(arco) Alleio Libellae f(ilio) / decurioni. Vixit annis XVII. Locus monumenti / publice datus est. Alleia M(arci) f(ilia) Decimilla sacerdos / publica Cereris faciundum curavit viro et filio.</i> [To Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella senior, aedile, duovir, prefect, quinquennial, and to Marcus Alleius Libella junior, decurion. He lived 17 years. The place for the monument was given publically. Alleia Decimilla, daughter of Marcus, public priestess of Ceres, oversaw the building on behalf of her husband and son.]	

(Continued)

<i>Location</i>	Marble plaque (east side of monument facing city)
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arco) Alleio Luccio Libellae patri / aedili Ilvir(o) praefecto quinq(uen)nali) et / M(arco) Alleio Libellae f(ilio) decurioni. Vixit / annis XVII. Locus monumenti / publice datus est. Alleia M(arci) f(ilia) / Decimilla sacerdos publica / Cereris faciundum curavit viro / et filio.</i>
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 30–40	<i>Terminus post quem</i> AD 25–26 when father <i>quinq(uen)nalis</i>

Comments

The east side of the tomb is the longer in length, featuring both the marble version of the inscription and the ends of the pulvini, indicating that the greater emphasis is placed on the visual impact of the tomb as seen from the city, not from the road passing the area.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 447); Kockel (1983: 166–168, Taf. 59–61).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE22	37 north	unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure ? / unfinished	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.03; (s) 3.03; (e) 3.03; (w) 3.03; extant height: 1.42	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Limestone, tufa, volcanic slag	
<i>Form</i>	Square structure of <i>opus incertum</i> walls of limestone, tufa and volcanic slag; early drawings include merlons crowned with pyramids at corners suggesting it might have been enclosure but no traces now; lower part of walls ancient construction but modern reconstruction in upper sections; could also be beginning of inner core or chamber for larger, unfinished structure (Figure A1.11).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	



Figure A1.11 PE21, PE22, and PE23

Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
unknown	

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 447); Kockel (1983: 166, Taf. 59a).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE23	35 north	unknown
Type	Unfinished	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 3.13; (s) 3.13; (e) 3.08; (w) 3.08 extant height: 1.19	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Travertine	
Form	Roughly square structure of travertine blocks; paving stones of road removed for foundation; above narrow euthynteria two levels	

(Continued)

of blocks; bottom row polished; top row indented up to 0.10 and not yet fully polished; unequal state of stones suggests still under construction (Figure A1.11).

<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
unknown	

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 447); Kockel (1983: 165–166, Taf. 59).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE24	34 north	Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus (?)
<i>Type</i>	Unknown/podium (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.0; (s) 5.97; (e) 5.95; (w) 5.90; extant height: 4.24	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, basalt, travertine, marble	
<i>Form</i>	Construction site marked by basalt <i>cippi</i> of which eleven remain <i>in situ</i> ; layer of basalt blocks around a cube of <i>opus caementicium</i> with fine <i>opus reticulatum</i> facing of yellow tufa; bottom level of stepped pedestal on east side has travertine blocks <i>in situ</i> forming outer facing of tomb, maybe restoration but unclear; construction incomplete despite tomb already being in use; nearly 0.60 between face of tomb and door frame shows how much of structure is missing. Marble door into tomb chamber 1.4 m high by 1.30 wide; found broken in several pieces in chamber now restored (as is marble door frame); four rectangular panels imitating folding wooden door common in houses; drill holes	

for lock; handle on left side. Chamber accessed down two steps; 0.60 below ground level; barrel vaulted ceiling partly collapsed in south; rubble covers floor; interior not plastered; bench running around part of chamber. Most artefacts found in chamber broken; some indication of tomb raiders; alabaster urn in *aedicula* opposite door broken, but contained ash, bone fragments and a gold ring; marble urn to left of door; two glass urns—one on bench—other with two amphorae that may have been used for burying children; eight glass *lacrematoria*; terracotta altar; three small jars (Figure A1.12).

Decoration

n/a

*Inscription(s)**Reference*

CIL X 1046 (cf. p. 967) = Hübner (1885) Nr. 11 +
CIL X 1021 (cf. p. 967)

Location

Marble plaque



Figure A1.12 PE24 and PE25

(Continued)

<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Caltilius L(uci) l(ibertus) / Coll(ina tribu) / [P]amphilus / Serviliae uxori / amico animo.</i> [Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus, freedman of Lucius, of the Collinian tribe, to his wife Servilia (in/of) a friendly manner.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 40–62	Son duovir in AD 52–53; appears as witness in Iucundus Tablets dated to AD 53 and AD 56 (<i>CIL</i> IV 3340.19, 3340.79, 3340.138)

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 447); Kockel (1983: 162–165, Taf. 5–59); Kruschwitz and Campbell (2010).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE25	33 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.52; (s) 4.52; (e) 3.97; (w) 3.97; extant height: 2.00	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Rectangular enclosure of tufa stonework mostly restored; originally had door on east side which was blocked up during one of many phases of restoration; between 0.50 and 1.0 of lower portion of walls still ancient construction covered with mortar. Theory it could have been <i>ustrinum</i> but seems to small; more likely unfinished (Figure A1.12).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 62–79	Unfinished; stands on paving stones of road; likely placed in only remaining space in necropolis	

Comments

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 447); Kockel (1983: 161–162, Taf. 57a–b).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE26	9 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Vaulted niche	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 4.45; depth: 2.94; extant height: 5.80;	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, tufa, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Vaulted half dome of masonry with brick facing; stacked pilasters on corners (bottom 2.85 and 3.10; top 1.72); cornice then pediment placed on top of pilasters decorated with stucco; uninscribed marble plaque embedded in tympanum with stucco frame; additional roof added in 19th c. for protection; heavily worn basalt step into niche; coffering above entrance connected to cornice running around interior. Bench of twelve irregularly shaped tufa blocks ranging in size from 1.45 to 0.30; many trapezoidal shape, wider at front and narrower at rear in order to make bench semi-circular but not executed well enough to succeed. No chamber (Figure A1.13).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Projecting Corinthian capitals on pilasters (like PE16) on both front and sides of structure; stucco work on façade and in tympanum of seahorses and dolphins now lost; intricate stucco work coffering in archway of entrance consisting of alternating panels with diamond and star shapes with palmettes, acanthus leaves, flowers, and bordered with rows of egg and dart and dentils; similar cornice of stucco dividing upper and lower registers of interior; dome finished in stucco as a shell; Fourth-style black and red panels separated by candelabra in lower register. Overall, decoration typical of a nymphaeum.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	

(Continued)



Figure A1.13 PE26 and PE27

AD 62–79	Younger than PE27; Fourth-style painting and stuccowork
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Comments

This tomb, along with the neighbouring PE27, is situated within one of the gardens of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns (cf. Jashemski 1970–1971; Kockel and Weber 1983; Campbell 2008).

Bibliography

Mazois (1812: I Pl. 33–34); Mau (1908: 434–437); Toynbee (1971: 123); Kockel (1983: 159–161, Taf. 55–56); Richardson (1988: 366); von Hesberg (1994: 169–170).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE27	8 north	Unknown ³⁹
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.39; (s) 3.36; (e) 3.09; (w) 3.09; extant height: 2.80	

<i>Enclosure</i>	
<i>Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, limestone, marble, tufa
<i>Form</i>	Core of <i>opus caementicium</i> of basalt, tufa, and Sarnese limestone; two levels of limestone blocks; third level creates projecting cornice; remains of two steps above; some remaining marble revetment; no remains above this but reconstruction suggests additional steps topped with ovoid shape similar to PNC1. Chamber entered from north side through courtyard of villa; so small it seems inaccessible (1.34 by 1.18; height of 1.46); barrel vault; one rectangular <i>loculus</i> in each wall; painted plaster but missing in some places, revealing tufa blocks underneath; large number of artefacts found in chamber: blue cameo glass amphora depicting Bacchic scenes, glass urn with lid, terracotta urn each found in <i>loculi</i> ; terracotta mask of curly haired youth wearing a Phrygian cap (Attis?); thirteen terracotta statuettes including Mars, Mercury, two gladiators. No obvious place for inscription (Figure A1.13).
<i>Decoration</i>	Chamber painted white plaster with red pediment.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 62–79	<i>Terminus post quem</i> Claudius for vase; younger than PE29–PE33 as aligned with street; younger than PE28 but older than PE26

Comments

This tomb, along with the neighbouring PE26, is situated within one of the gardens of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns (cf. Jashemski 1970–1971; Kockel & Weber 1983; Campbell 2008; G. Adams 2012).

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 434); Kockel (1983: 152–159, Taf. 51–54); Richardson (1988: 364).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE28	7 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.0; (s) 5.89; (e) 6.10; (w) 5.89	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure made of three walls, using side of PE29 on east side; <i>opus incertum</i> of basalt and limestone; north and west walls both destroyed and rebuilt; doorway with basalt threshold, posts and lintel; lintel in two parts repaired at least once in antiquity; door filled with modern stonework; threshold approximately 0.50 above ground level; interior never fully excavated to ancient level (Figure A1.14).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
30 BC–AD 60	Younger than PE29; older than PE27; aligned with road	

*Comments**Bibliography*

Mau (1908: 434); Kockel (1983: 151–152).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE29	6 north	Unknown ⁴⁰
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(s) 3.74; (e) 4.23; (w) 4.19; height: of reconstruction: ca. 9.10	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, tufa, marble	

Form	Basalt and tufa (at rear) substructure of three stepped levels; large core of basalt <i>opus caementicium</i> ; profile separates substructure from pedestal above; eight rows of tufa blocks; four pilasters across façade; holes where inscription was once embedded; three pilasters on sides with garlands; evidence entire pedestal covered in stucco. Superstructure does not remain but architectural fragments allow plausible reconstruction of <i>aedicula</i> ; two Attic bases of Luna marble; 3.1-m long Luna marble frieze with architrave; nine blocks of tufa coffered floral ceiling panels; five tufa blocks of architrave and frieze; additional pilaster capital and bases; segments of two columns of red and white breccia (2 and 2.6 m long); two capitals of Pentalic marble with chimera; six tufa slabs of <i>aedicula</i> wall or pediment; panel of Sarnese limestone with stucco. Excavators punched through west wall looking for tomb chamber, but none exists (Figure A1.14).
Decoration	All pilasters on pedestal with Corinthian capitals and rounded projecting base; on east and west sides flower garlands with ribbons draped between pilasters; architrave and frieze remnants decorated with acanthus leaves, vines, flowers; panel with stuccowork of three women and a cithara; two marble male portrait busts.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
80–50 BC	Use of Luna marble and other materials; style of frieze and other decoration; non-alignment with street

Comments

Aedicula seems to have collapsed during eruptions as most architectural fragments found at a higher stratigraphic level above street level; evidence for someone trying to open tomb from above—as frieze and other pieces not buried deeply may have been salvaged, including inscription.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 434); Toynbee (1971: 126); Kockel (1983: 126–151, Taf. 39–50); von Hesberg (1994: 32, 124–126, 141, 216).



Figure A1.14 PE28, PE29, and PE30

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE30	5 north	Numerius Curtius Spurianus (?)
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb	n/a	
Dimensions		
Enclosure	(s) 6.65; (w) 7.08; extant height: 1.50	
Dimensions		
Materials	Tufa, basalt	
Form	Enclosure with only front wall built; uses sides of PE29 and PE31 to create enclosed space on east and west; modern wall to north, original boundary unclear; eastern section of façade of fine <i>opus reticulatum</i> of yellow tufa; west side of façade entirely modern restoration; basalt threshold (Figure A1.14).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	EE VIII 8.322, <i>non vidi</i>	
Location	Marble tablet; lost; provenance unclear	
Text	N(umerius) Curtius N(umeri) f(ilius) / Spurianus frater. [Numerius Curtius Spurianus, son of Numerius, brother.]	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	<i>Terminus post quem</i> PE29 and PE31; reticulate Neronian; all others in area with same style reticulate date after AD 50 (PE1, PE14, PE24)

*Comments**Bibliography*

Kockel (1983: 125–126, Taf. 38c).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE31	4 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tholos</i>	
<i>Tomb</i>	(n) 9.35; (s) 9.64; (e) 9.23; (w) 9.23; extant height: 2.00	
<i>Dimensions</i>		
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, tufa, cruma	
<i>Form</i>	<i>Opus caementicium</i> foundation of basalt with some tufa and cruma level sloping ground for pedestal; blocks of basalt in façade of pedestal but all other sides tufa; above narrow euthynteria two levels of orthostats (three survive on north); <i>opus caementicium</i> core has circular space with diameter of 6.70 subdivided into four unequal segments by walls; rounded interior substructure, fragments of rounded cornice and cone shaped roof suggest columns supported circular <i>monopteros</i> with diameter of slightly more than 6 m; four large column drums probably part of interior support (Figure A1.15).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Four Ionic columns; fragments of two tufa Corinthian capitals; tufa Ionic capitals and bases now incorporated into PE5 erroneously; several fragments (some now lost) of tufa frieze depicting vine; two blocks of rounded cornice; several drums of damaged tufa monumental columns. Other fragments of marble statues (half an arm, fist, headless togate male, hands holding book) as well as pulvini, two altars and stucco remains of somewhat suspect provenance may belong here.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	

(Continued)

<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50 BC-AD 14	Building technique of foundation, alignment with PE32 and PE29 suggest between colony and early Imperial age; Corinthian capital of cone roof similar to Temple of Fortuna Augusta and Temple of Mars Ultor

Comments

Bibliography

Kockel (1983: 118–125, Taf. 35c-38); Richardson (1988: 251–252).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE32	3 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Altar (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(s) 2.84; (e) 3.31; extant height: 1.23	
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Little remains (Kockel [1983: 117–118] estimates half of original dimensions); substructure of basalt; tufa profile above; core of <i>opus caementicium</i> ; two levels of orthostats above narrow euthynteria; no superstructure remains but proportions and pulvinus suggest altar (Figure A1.15).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fragment of tufa pulvinus; size indicates not associated with other altar tombs in area so attribution fairly certain.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50 BC–AD 1	Use of basalt and tufa; alignment with PE29	

Comments

Bibliography

Kockel (1983: 117–118, Taf. 35a–b).



Figure A1.15 PE31, PE32, and PE34 (PE33 behind modern wall)

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE33	2 north	Titus Terentius Felix
Type	Enclosure/triclinium ?	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) 5.15; (e) 5.01; extant height: 2.90	
Materials	Basalt	
Form	So little remains type cannot be accurately determined; north-west corner and all of east side of tomb destroyed in 1980 earthquake; part of south wall and south-east corner integrated into modern site wall; enclosure that remains is behind modern wall; original basalt threshold on east side; copy of inscription on site wall. Excavators found inscribed <i>columella</i> , and small structure—either table or altar; two urns in lead containers; one glass, one terracotta; <i>lacrimatoria</i> ; needle, key and other unidentified metal objects; small bronze snake; glass button; fragments of terracotta lamp with mask of old man; shell fragments of oysters and clams. Augustan bronze coin and Claudian coin also found but context unclear; number of small finds suggest it could have been a dump site for debris from the earthquake in AD 62.	

(Continued)

<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1019 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble plaque
<i>Text</i>	<i>T(ito) Terentio T(iti) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) / Felici Maiori aedil(i). / Huic publice locus / datus et (sestertium) <duo milia> / Fabia Probi f(ilia) Sabina uxor.</i> [To Titus Terrentius Felix maior; son of Titus, of the Menenian tribe; aedile. He was given this place and two thousand sesterces by the people. Fabia Sabina, daughter of Probus, wife.]
<i>Reference</i>	CIL X 1020 (cf. p. 967), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>T(ito) Maiori.</i> [To Titus maior.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–62	<i>Terminus post quem</i> Claudian coin; witness in Iucundus Tablets CIL IV 3340.80; younger than PE32

Comments
Mau suggests odd alignment of tomb and shellfish could indicate *triclinium*

Bibliography
Mau (1908: 432–433); Toynbee (1971: 119); Kockel (1983: 115–117, Taf. 34).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PE34	1 north	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb</i>	(n) 5.71; (s) 5.64; (e) 3.91; (w) 3.94; height: 4.10	
<i>Dimensions</i>		
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Travertine, tufa, basalt	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal of two levels of tufa blocks; travertine profile separating pedestal and superstructure; superstructure has three levels of tufa blocks still <i>in situ</i> ; only two on east side; blocks on north and east side very rough, clumsily finished; all blocks held together with iron clamps—no mortar. Exposed core 1.20 m at top suggests at least one more level missing; core of basalt <i>opus</i>	

	<i>caementicium</i> . Small chamber entrance in east side; barrel vault; soil floor; terracotta urn with lid fixed with plaster in lead container <i>in situ</i> ; second urn in lead container; urns in two corners of chamber; covered with soil and remains of pyre; fragments of ivory box; pieces of wood, glass fragments, and nails (Figure A1.15).
<i>Decoration</i>	Fragment of bronze statue; head of statue of boy in <i>giallo antico</i> ; minor stucco work survives on north side.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
7 BC–AD 14	<i>Terminus post quem</i> 7 BC (latest coin); lack of mortar

Comments

Kockel (1983: 113–114) suggests the inscription would have been approximately 2 m long and placed on the south side of the tomb where the missing stones would have been thinner.

Bibliography

Mau (1908: 432); Kockel (1983: 111–115, Taf. 32–33); Richardson (1988: 246).

PORTA DEL VESUVIO

Located further east along the north side of the city walls from Porta di Ercolano, there is a small plot outside of Porta del Vesuvio where four monumental tombs have been excavated (Figure A1.16). They all include epitaphs with the phrase ‘*ex decreto decurionum*,’ and are situated on land that has been designated as public. The only publication that deals with this group of tombs in its entirety is the notes from the excavation compiled by Spano in 1910 and published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (Spano 1910b: 399–416). Three of the tombs have garnered little scholarly attention on their own, though the fourth, the Tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus, has received an enormous amount of study primarily because of the lavish wall paintings contained within the tomb (Spano 1943; Dentzer 1962; Mols and Moorman 1993–1994, 1995; Clarke 2003: 187–202). As the tombs were excavated only one hundred years ago, they remain in relatively good condition]

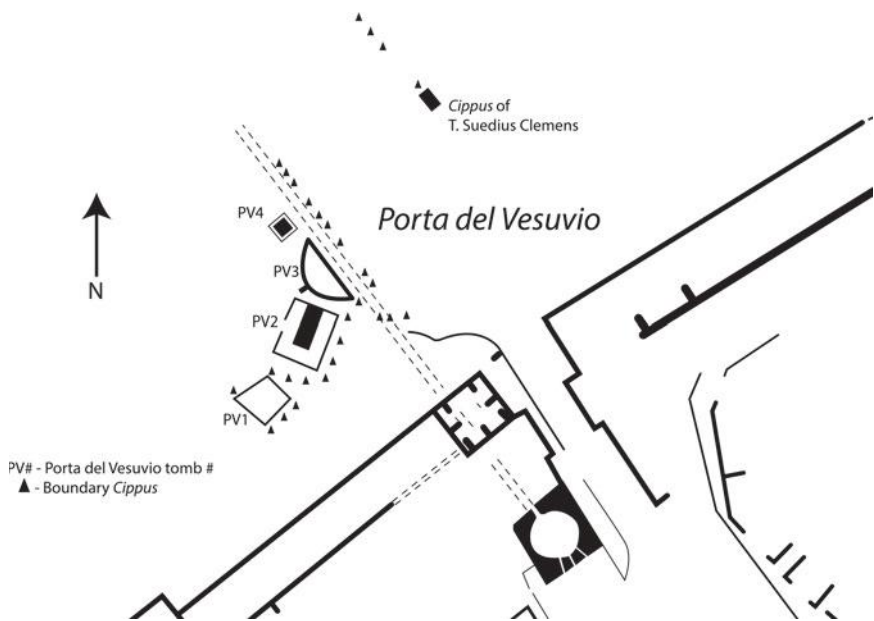


Figure A1.16 Plan of necropolis at Porta del Vesuvio

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PV1	n/a	Marcus Veius Marcellus
Type	Bustum (?)	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 4.50; (s) 4.27; (e) 3.91; (w) 4.14; average height of side & rear walls (see below): 1.48; height of façade: 2.20	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava	
Form	Constructed of square cut lava stones covered with plaster; three walls of varying height/length and façade with pediment and pyramid capped merlons at each corner. Description from excavation (NSA 1910: 403) calls the overall shape as ‘rhomboidal’ but the disproportionate measurements renders structure askew, with particularly odd angle at the junction of the north and west walls. Most extreme example of variations in height of walls in north: slopes from maximum height of 1.55 m in west to 1.23 m in	

	east; also different height in merlons at corners: range from 1.93 m (northeast corner) to 2.18 m (southeast corner) (Figure A1.17).
Decoration	Painted plaster, some colour remains on interior walls but no discernible pattern
Inscription(s)	
Reference	NSA 1910: 403; <i>vidi</i>
Location	Marble tablet set in tympanum; 0.48 by 0.22
Text	<i>M(arco) Veio Marcello / vivo locus monumenti / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i> [To Marcus Veius Marcellus the place of this monument was given by decree of the decuriones whilst he was living.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 62–79	Construction; dates of individuals named in <i>graffiti</i>

Comments

Because there is no trace of a structure or burial within the walls, the tomb is believed to be unused or unfinished. It is possible that the intended inhabitant had not died prior to AD 79 and the inscription states clearly it was given to him whilst living: the haphazard construction may be indicative that this is a placeholder, with a larger, more elaborate, less lopsided, structure planned for future. *Dipinti CIL* IV 9162–9167.

Bibliography

Spano (1910b: 403–404); Franklin (2004: 27–28); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PV2	n/a	Gaius Vestorius Priscus
Type	Altar	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 5.89; (s) 5.30; (e) 5.57; (w) 5.34; extant height: façade 2.00; altar 2.74	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava	
Form	High enclosure wall of lava stonework covered in white painted plaster; merlons capped with pyramids at corners; small door in rear wall 1.22 by 0.53. Base of the altar not centred but slightly to the north abutting wall; masonry altar smaller than base. No tomb chamber (Figure A1.17).	

(Continued)

Decoration

Interior walls of enclosure Fourth-style painting: images of the deceased as magistrate, surrounded by scrolls and books, a gladiator, a silver dining service, a banquet, a hunt and a garden. Altar covered with stucco reliefs on all four sides: base with erotes; top has elaborate cornice; four merlons, omphaloi coiled with serpents and Bacchic figures.

Inscription(s)**Reference**

AE 1911: 72 = AE 1913: 70, *vidi*

Location

Marble tablet in altar

Text

C(aio) Vestorio Prisco aedil(i). / Vixit annis XXII. / Locus sepulturae datus et in / funere (sestertium) <duo milia> / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). / Mulvia Prisca mater p(ecunia) s(ua).

[To Gaius Vestorius Priscus, aedile. He lived twenty-two years. The place of the burial and two thousand sesterces for the funeral were given by decree of the decuriones. Mulvia Prisca, his mother, paid (for this) with her own money.]

Date**Basis of Date**

AD 75–76

Aedile AD 75–76; died in office; paintings and stuccowork Fourth style

Comments

Inscription noteworthy for the fact tomb was dedicated by the man's mother, and no mention of the father, including standard expectation of filiation, is included. Scholars such as Clarke (2003: 189) have discussed the ancestry of the family in terms of his mother, looking at those with the name Priscus, with no mention of the paternal ancestry. Schulze (1904: 254) lists attestations of various Vestorii in a number of places around Italy, but most notably there is a *vicus Vestorianus* located in Puteoli (CIL X 1631). A quick review of *TPSulp* has revealed three witnesses who bear the name Vestorius. Titus Vestorius Arpocra and Titus Vestorius Phoenix both signed Tablet 43 on the 21st of August AD 38, and Gaius Vestorius Felix was a witness on Tablet 64 on the 2nd of February AD 53. The latter individual, due to both name and the time frame, could conceivably be the father of this Pompeian *aedile* (Camodeca 1999). *Graffiti and dipinti: CIL IV* 9160, 9161.

Bibliography

Spano (1910b: 402–403); Spano (1943); Dentzer (1962); Richardson (1988: 363); Mols and Moormann (1993–1994; 1995); Cicirelli (1998); Clarke (2003: 187–202); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 69).



Figure A1.17 PV1, PV2, PV3, and PV4

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PV3	n/a	Arellia Tertulla
Type	<i>Schola</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 7.70; depth: 3.85; extant height: bench: 0.75; column: 4.87	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Nocera tufa, lava	
Form	Bench tomb of tufa slabs; raised 0.50 from ground level with worn step running across front; floor of <i>opus caementicum</i> ; bench supported at rear by large lava slabs covered in painted plaster with smooth finish. Large rectangular base at midpoint rising from behind bench; profiled frame for inscription (0.67 by 0.37); topped with column. Bench shows heavy wear in places (Figure A1.17).	

(Continued)

<i>Decoration</i>	Terminal lion's paws; unfluted column with Attic base and capital
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	NSA 1910: 405; <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet found broken some distance from tomb
<i>Text</i>	[A]relliae N(umeri) f(iliae) Tertullae / Vei Frontonis. Huic decurion(es) / locum sepulturae post mortem / dederunt et funus ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) / decre[verunt]. ⁴¹ [To Arellia Tertulla, daughter of Numerius, (wife) of Veius Fronto. To her the decurions gave the place for burial and a funeral with public money by decree after her death.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
31 BC-AD14	Construction; style of column; husband known from electoral <i>dipinti</i> (CIL IV 7976–7978; see below PV4)

Comments

Bibliography

Spano (1910b: 404–406); Franklin (2004: 24–26); Richardson (1988: 255).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PV4	n/a	Septumia
<i>Type</i>	Column	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 2.07; (e) 2.10; (s) 1.95; (w) 2.05; extant height: pedestal: 2.34; column: 3.79	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Nocera tufa, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Base of brickwork now missing plaster; topped with rectangular pedestal of brick covered with white painted plaster; plain crown; pedestal surmounted by fluted column (now partly broken at top) (Figure A1.17).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fluted column on Attic base (capital missing)	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1913: 71, <i>vidi</i>	

Location	Marble tablet
Text	<i>Septumiae L(uci) f(iliae) / d(ecreto)</i> <i>d(ecurionum) / locus sepulturae publice /</i> <i>datus et in funere (sestertium) ̳duo milia̳. /</i> <i>Antistia P(ubli) f(ilia) Prima filia / fecit.</i> [To Septumia, daughter of Lucius, by decree of the decurions she was given publicly a place for burial and two thousand sesterces for her funeral. Antistia Prima, daughter of Publius, her daughter, made this.]
Date	Basis of Date
31 BC-AD 14	style of column; post-depositional <i>dipinti</i> of a candidate known from late Augustan / early Tiberian period; <i>terminus ante quem</i> AD 62 when buried in earthquake debris

Comments

Dipinti on the tomb base consists of four election notices for Marcus Stlaborius Veius Fronto, husband of the occupant of PV3 (CIL IV 7976–7978, 9168–9175).

Bibliography

Spano (1910b: 406–409); Richardson (1988: 257); Varone (2002: 33–34).

PORTA DI NOLA

Like Porta del Vesuvio, there are only a few built tombs that have been excavated in the area beyond Porta di Nola. Uncovered at different times in the twentieth century, these monuments remain in much the same condition as they were found when initially unearthed. Two of the areas are problematic as there are no real remains but simply an indication that something was once there. One area (indicated by the dashed square in Figure A1.18) is a small square depression thought to have been an *ustrinum*. The other, demarcated by a large irregular square adjacent to PN2, has been identified by scholars as a small garden plot or *bustum* that may have belonged to the *schola* tomb (Jashemski 1970–1971: 104). Originally only the two *scholae* were published as excavation notes in 1910 in *Notizie degli Scavi*, although De Caro revisited the area in the 1970s and subsequently published a further study of the tombs (Spano 1910a: 385–399; Pozzi 1960; De Caro 1979)]

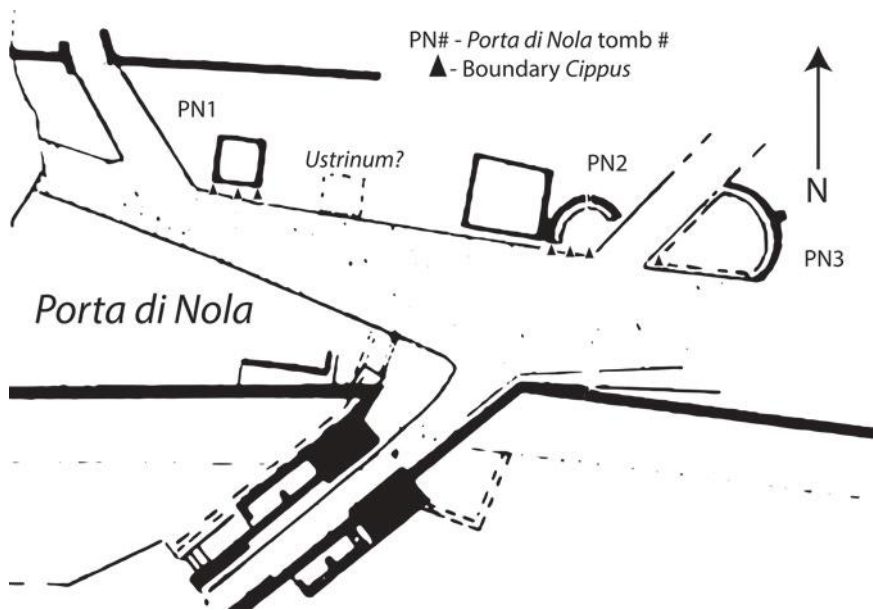


Figure A1.18 Plan of necropolis at Porta di Nola

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PN1	n/a	Marcus Obellius Firmus
Type	Bustum	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 4.07; (s) 4.19; (e) 4.24; (w) 4.00; extant height: walls: 1.74; pediment: 2.86	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava, brick	
Form	Walls of lava stonework quoined with brick; three walls of similar height; façade taller, with pediment of lava stones with brick edging; pediment profiled by stuccowork cornice; no door but rear (north) wall cut into, lowering height 0.20, likely for accessing interior by ladder. Marble <i>columella</i> and pair of tiles found in chamber; tiles placed over libation tube leading to pale blue glass urn (Figure A1.19).	
Decoration	Walls of white painted plaster; tympanum red painted plaster; stuccowork cornice with scroll.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	De Franciscis 1976	
Location	Marble tablet in tympanum	



Figure A1.19 PN1 and possible *ustrinum*

Text

*M(arco) Obellio M(arci) f(ilio) Firmo aedili / Ilvir(o) i(i)ure
d(icundo) huic decuriones loc(um) / sepulturae et in
funer(ibus) (sestertium) ◊quinque milia◊ censuer(unt)
Pagani / thuris p(ondera) XXX et clupeum ministr(i)
eor(um) in odorib(us) (sestertium) ◊mille◊ et clupeum.*

[To Marcus Obellius Firmus, son of Marcus, aedile,
duovir with judicial powers to whom the decurions
gave this place for burial and five thousand sesterces
for the funeral and the pagani gave thirty pounds
of incense and a shield and the ministers gave one
thousand sesterces for scents and a shield.]

Date

AD 14–54

Basis of Date

Earliest *dipinti* Neronian; construction

Comments

Outer walls covered with *dipinti* and *graffiti* from Neronian and Flavian period.
House located at IX.14.2–4, a few blocks from Porta di Nola.

Bibliography

De Franciscis (1976); De Caro (1979: 65–79); Richardson (1988: 258).



Figure A1.20 PN2 and PN3

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PN2	n/a	Aesquillia Polla
<i>Type</i>	<i>Schola</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: (se) 3.50; (sw) 4.35; depth: 4.10; Extant height: bench: 1.37; column: 5.44	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Basalt, lava, Nocera tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Bench tomb; back and seat of bench made of separate, large blocks of Nocera tufa; supported by large lava stones in rear. Floor raised above ground level; due to sloping ground size of basalt blocks outlining floor range from 0.15 to 0.35; floor <i>opus caementicium</i> . Bench interrupted by rectangular base at midpoint; inscription tablet embedded in pedestal of base; column (partially restored) topped with urn. East side of bench broken; unclear how much might be missing (Figure A1.20).	

<i>Decoration</i>	Fluted column with Pompeian Ionic capital; marble urn in shape of amphora with elongated neck and handles and iron trident on lid; terminal lion's paws.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1911: 71
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet in column base
<i>Text</i>	<i>N(umerius) Herennius N(umeri) f(ilius)</i> <i>Men(enia) / Celsus d(uo)v(ir) i(ure)</i> <i>d(icundo) iter(um) praef(ectus) / fabr(orum) /</i> <i>Aesquilliae C(ai) f(iliae) Pollae / uxori. Vixit</i> <i>annos XXII. / Locus sepulturae publice datus</i> <i>/ d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i>
	[Numerius Herennius Celsus, son of Numerius, member of the Menenian voting tribe, duovir with judicial power twice, praefectus fabrorum to Aesquillia Polla, daughter of Gaius, his wife. She lived twenty-two years. The place for burial was given publicly by decree of the decurions.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 62–79	Construction; style of inscription

Comments

Interruption of bench by base and use of separate blocks for bench seat and back rest
are marked differences in construction from Augustan *scholae*.

Bibliography

Spano (1910a: 387–393); Pozzi (1960); De Caro (1979: 64–65); Richardson (1988:
365–366).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PN3	n/a	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Schola</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 6.71; altar: (n/s) 1.40; (e/w) 1.14; extant height: bench: 1.30; altar: 1.55	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, tufa	

(Continued)

Form	Bench tomb of tufa blocks; supported in rear by wall of lava stonework (not fully excavated); missing end on south side so full length of bench unknown; terminal on north side is separate block of carved stone—not an integral part of the bench; rear of seat capped with pyramidal stones. Floor covered with soil now, but was revealed as <i>opus signinum</i> during excavation. Altar at midpoint rising above bench; on narrow base with profile; altar core of lava stonework; damaged on front and north; part of relief visible on front and mostly intact on south (Figure A1.20).
Decoration	Altar has relief of wicker <i>cista mystica</i> framed by torches on south; grain, serpent; <i>situla</i> on west. Terminal griffin’s paws (clear indication of feathers/scales).
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
AD 70s	Construction; later than PE2; unfinished?

Comments
The bench itself has less curvature and a narrower seat than any of the others in Pompeii.

Bibliography
Spano (1910a: 393–396); Pozzi (1960); Richardson (1988: 365).

PORTA DI NOCERA

The necropolis at Porta di Nocera is by far the largest associated with Pompeii, containing nearly eighty tombs in the four sections that have been excavated. The first three sections, immediately outside the Porta di Nocera contains fifty-five tombs (Figure A1.2). Most were excavated originally in the 1950s by Maiuri, with subsequent investigations in 1983 by D’Ambrosio and De Caro, whose *Un Impegno per Pompei* remains the primary publication for this area. This group of tombs is somewhat unusual as it sits some distance from the city walls, following what appears to be an orbital road rather than the main thoroughfare exiting the city.

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc1	2EN = 5	Unknown
Type	Altar	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 3.5; (s) 3.5; (e) 3.96; (w) 3.96; extant height: 4.04	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Brick, tufa, marble	
Form	Rectangular pedestal of two levels of large tufa blocks; projecting crown of tufa; four progressively narrowing steps of lava stonework; marble revetment <i>in situ</i> on lowest step; brick altar topped with large limestone egg with bronze miniscus. Chamber entered from south; down narrow flight of stairs; chamber sunk half below ground; vaulted; three arched <i>loculi</i> in east and west walls, two in south wall; south wall painted; amphora for libations sunk into floor in southwest corner (Figure A1.22).	
Decoration	South wall Fourth-style paintings of shield, large bird, and hunter fighting boar in lunette.	

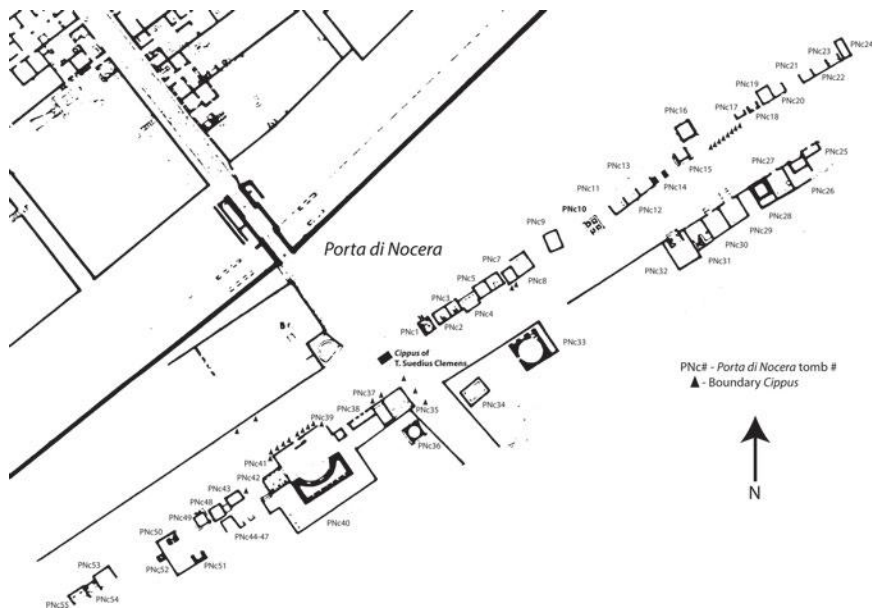


Figure A1.21 Plan of necropolis at Porta di Nocera

(Continued)

Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 62–79	Fourth-style paintings; similarity to PE27

Comments	
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Bibliography
D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 2EN); Richardson (1988: 363); Jacobelli (2003: 97).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc2	4EN = 6	Lucius Cellius
Type	<i>Tholos</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 3.62; (s) 3.62; (e) 3.62; (w) 3.62; extant height: 4.32	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava, brick	
Form	Substructure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining; tufa profile visible in rear leading to podium incorporating low arch constructed in same way; pilasters at all four corners; entire podium covered with white painted plaster. Cornice of floral stuccowork; little remains of superstructure; some remnants of lava <i>opus incertum</i> base for <i>tholos</i> . Fragments of columns and <i>pudicitia</i> statue found between this structure and PNc3 support identification as <i>tholos</i> . No chamber; <i>columella</i> in shape of palmette found nearby (Figure A1.22).	
Decoration	White painted plaster drafted to resemble ashlar; fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals; stucco reliefs badly degraded: seated figure on east side, otherwise illegible.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 4EN), <i>vidi</i>	
Location	Marble tablet	



Figure A1.22 PNc1, PNc2, PNc3, and PNc4

Text

*L(ucio) Cellio, L(uci) f(ilio) / Men(enia),
duo vir(o) i(i)ure d(icundo), tr(ibuno) /
mil(itum) a populo, / ex testam(ento).*
[To Lucius Cellius, son of Lucius, member
of the Menenian tribe, duovir with
judicial powers, military tribune of the
people, according to his will.]

Date

27 BC–AD 14

Basis of Date

office of *tribunus militum a populo*; lack of
tria nomina

Comments

A variety of *graffiti* and *dipinti* including electoral notices, advertisements for games (CIL IV 5417–5423, 9942–9945, 9970, 10219–10220).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 140, 144, 148); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 4EN);
Richardson (1988: 251); Varone (2002: 112).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc3	6EN = 10	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.48; (s) 3.48; (e) 3.26; (w) 3.26; extant height: 4.45	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, brick, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal of brick with low central arch; core of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; narrow tufa projecting profile; little of superstructure remains; some modern restoration work; lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining indicates remnants of <i>aedicula</i> . Entire structure originally covered in white painted plaster; stucco remaining on podium drafted as ashlar blocks. No chamber. Architectural fragments of limestone column; statue; capitals and cornice support identification of tomb type. Also fragment of lava <i>columella</i> found in vicinity (Figure A1.22).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fragments of Corinthian capitals; stucco cornice; tufa statue of female figure.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
27BC–AD14	Similar construction to PNc2; older than PNc4	
<i>Comments</i>	Variety of <i>graffiti</i> and <i>dipinti</i> including electoral notices, names and greetings, and an insult of a sexual nature that includes a crude drawing of a man's head (<i>CIL</i> IV 9946–9947, 10222–10225).	
<i>Bibliography</i>	Della Corte (1958: 138, 140, 148–149); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 6EN); Richardson (1988: 251).	
Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc4	8EN	Aninia Didime
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	

<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) no extant wall; (s) 3.38; (e) 1.50; (w) 1.20; extant height: 0.62
<i>Materials</i>	Lava
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure wall of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; significant restoration on southeast corner with modern brick; area extends further north than the enclosure wall, ending where the topography drops sharply by 0.85; lava facing on rear terrace. Two inscribed <i>columellae</i> found, one limestone, one travertine. Other architectural fragments found during excavation include Sarnese limestone curved architrave, white marble Ionic column, Ionic capital. Likely these remains belong to one of the neighbouring <i>aediculae</i> or <i>tholoi</i> (Figure A1.22).
<i>Decoration</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i> still <i>in situ</i> has fluting on the reverse.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 8EN n. 1), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Aninia / Didime.</i> [Aninia Didime.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 8EN n. 2), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Travertine <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Aninia / [C]naei l(iberti) l(iberta), Tertia.</i> [Aninia Tertia, freedwoman of the freedman Gnaeus (sc. Aninius).] ⁴²
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 14–62	Post-dates PNc3 and PNc5; <i>terminus post quem</i> Augustan

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 8EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc5	10EN = 12	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	

(Continued)

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.57; (s) 3.57; (e) 3.57; (w)3.57; extant height: (n) 5.65; (s) 4.30
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, brick
<i>Form</i>	Square pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining at corners; narrow projecting profile of lava; part of superstructure remains indicating <i>aedicule</i> ; some modern reconstruction to superstructure. Constructed to conform to slope of terrain: taller at rear than in front. Remains of white painted plaster drafted as ashlar blocks on east and south walls. No chamber. Female statue in Nocera tufa found during excavation (Figure A1.23).
<i>Decoration</i>	Traces of stucco dentil cornice beneath profile on south side; <i>pudicitia</i> statue missing head.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
27 BC-AD 14	Similar construction to PNc3; older than PNc4 and PNc6

Comments
Covered with electoral notices and advertisements for games (*CIL* IV 9948–9950, 9971–9976, 10226–10228).

Bibliography
Della Corte (1958: 140–141, 144–145, 150); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 10 EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc6	12EN = 13	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.62; (s) 3.62; (e) 3.76; (w) 3.76; extant height: 4.16.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Sarnese limestone; brick, tufa	



Figure A1.23 PNC5, PNC6, PNC7, and PNC8

Form	Rectangular pedestal of Sarnese limestone and brick <i>opus vittatum mixtum</i> with a core of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> ; central arch; narrow tufa projecting profile; remains of superstructure of same construction and materials. White painted plaster drafted as ashlar masonry of different sized blocks creating pattern. No chamber. Fragment of <i>cipollino</i> column 2.36 long with diameter of 0.30 found when excavated but attribution unclear (Figure A1.23).
Decoration	Ashlar drafted stuccowork
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
27 BC- AD 14	Post-dates PNC5; pre-dates PNC7

(Continued)

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* including advertisements of games, electoral notices, obscene insults with illustrations and greetings (*CIL* IV 9951–9953, 9977, 10229–10235).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 141, 145, 150–151); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 12EN); Richardson (1988: 251); Varone (2002: 40, 138–139; 167).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc7	14EN = 19	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tholos</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.57; (s) 3.57; (e) 3.57; (w) 3.57; extant height: 4.42	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, brick, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Square pedestal with core of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining; tufa profile between lower and upper registers; podium covered in white painted plaster; base smooth; upper register of pedestal drafted as orthostats and isodomic masonry blocks; pilasters wrap around all four corners; none of superstructure remains but discovery of curved cornices (in front of PNc5), four white marble capitals and <i>cipollino</i> column support identification as <i>tholos</i> . No chamber (Figure A1.23).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fluted pilasters; Corinthian marble capitals	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 14–68	<i>terminus ante quem</i> Flavian: gladiator named in <i>graffiti</i> with epithet <i>Neronianus</i> must pre-date <i>damnatio memoriae</i> ; post-dates PNc6; pre-dates PNc8	

Comments

A large number of *graffiti* and *dipinti* including electoral notices and greetings (*CIL* IV 9955–9957, 10236–10239).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 142, 151–153); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 14EN); Coleman (1999).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc8	16EN	Numerius Alleius Auctus
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.04; (s) 4.04; (e) 4.64; extant height: 1.65	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure of three lava <i>opus incertum</i> walls; built into southwest corner of PNc7 with no additional wall on west side; north wall positioned at slight angle to create entrance to enclosure at north-west corner; nine <i>columellae in situ</i> ; one inscribed marble, remainder lava. Four <i>columellae</i> in southwest corner; four in rear parallel to north wall; one in northeast corner parallel to east wall. Two retain traces of topknot, indicating meant for women (Figure A1.23).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 16 EN n. 4), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	N(umerio) Alleio / Aucto. [To Numerius Alleius Auctus.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
unknown	Post-dates PNc7	

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 16EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc9	18EN	Unknown

(Continued)



Figure A1.24 PNc9

<i>Type</i>	Enclosure/ <i>ustrinum</i> ?
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(s) 3.53; (w) 3.87
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, Sarnese limestone
<i>Form</i>	Three <i>opus incertum</i> walls of tufa and Sarnese limestone; remnants of walls level to ground although interior excavated somewhat lower; unclear if unfinished or meant as <i>ustrinum</i> (Figure A1.24).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
unknown	

<i>Comments</i>	
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Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 18EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc10	20EN = 23	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Tetrapylon <i>aedicule</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.26; (s) 3.26; (e) 3.35; (w) 3.35; extant height: 5.98	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, Sarnese limestone, brick, lava, marble	
<i>Form</i>	Substructure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; profile of tufa blocks; pedestal with lava <i>opus incertum</i> core with brick and limestone <i>opus vittatum</i> ; low arched niche centred just above profile; pedestal originally covered with white painted plaster some of which remains. Cornice of stucco over brick armature leading to superstructure; four sets of engaged columns of brick and Sarnese limestone; each pillar of columns set on plinth with profile and cornice covered in white painted plaster, marble base; front pillars have four columns each resembling four leaf clover in plan; rear two pillars only three columns with wall of black lava <i>opus incertum</i> between creating a niche; all fourteen columns once had marble capitals, nine remain. Two uninscribed lava <i>columellae</i> , one female, found <i>in situ</i> between PNc10 and PNc11, attribution unclear (Figure A1.25).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Nine marble Corinthian capitals	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 14–79	Appearance of tomb type in Near East and Africa	

Comments

This tomb unique in Pompeii, taking a form more commonly found in Africa and Syria. *Graffiti* and *dipinti* including electoral notices, greetings, and advertisements of gladiatorial games (CIL IV 9958, 9981–9982, 10241–10242a).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 142, 146, 153–154); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 20EN); Richardson (1988: 368); Varone (2002: 21–22, 151–152).



Figure A1.25 PNc10 and PNc11

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc11	22EN = 24	Lucius Publicius Syneros
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(s) 3.77; extant height: 1.78.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Partially walled enclosure with house façade; no eastern wall—makes use of pre-existing structure of PNc12 , western wall no longer extant; façade of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; some brick work at corners largely modern restoration; projecting profile of brick covered with stucco around pediment; some traces of red pigment in tympanum. Four <i>columellae in situ</i> : three lava (one female), and one female of Nocera tufa (Figure A1.25–26).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Tympanum possible painted at one time.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 22EN), <i>vidi</i>	

Location	Marble tablet in tympanum
Text	<i>L(ucius) Publicius Syneros / et Aebiae, L(uci) l(ibertae), Faustae / et L(ucio) Aebio, L(uci) l(iberto), Aristoni patr/lo (!) / et Aebiae, L(uci) l(ibertae) Hilarae. / Sibi et suis.</i> ⁴³ [Lucius Publicius Syneros to Aebia Fausta, freedwoman of Lucius, and Lucius Aebius Aristo, freedman of Lucius, father, and Aebia Hilara, freedwoman of Lucius. For himself and his.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 54–62	Similar style to PNc29 and PNc30; some post-earthquake repair

Comments
One *dipinto* (CIL IV 9959).

Bibliography
Della Corte (1958: 142); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 22EN); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc12	24EN = 26	Unknown



Figure A1.26 PNc11, PNc12, and PNc13 (PNc12 reconstructed) (Continued)

Type	Enclosure
Tomb Dimensions	n/a
Enclosure Dimensions	(s) 3.52; (e) 4.80; extant height: 1.78
Materials	Lava
Form	Enclosure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; south wall intact; east and west largely deteriorated; no north wall, but D'Ambrosio reconstructs as enclosure of four walls. One lava <i>columella</i> found <i>in situ</i> (Figure A1.26).
Decoration	n/a
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 14–54	Pre-dates PNc11 and PNc13

Comments
Collapsed in February 2014 and has since been reconstructed.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 24EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc13	26EN = 27	Unknown
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	(s) 3.74; depth: 5.20; extant height: 1.22	
Materials	Lava	
Form	Enclosure of two walls; uses east and west walls of PNc12 and PNc14; south wall of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; minor traces of north wall 5.20 m from south wall. One lava <i>columella in situ</i> ; marble column base also found but unlikely it can be attributed to this enclosure (Figure A1.26).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	

Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 14–54	Post-dates both PNc12 and PNc14; construction and simplicity of type common to first half of 1st c. AD

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 26EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc14	28EN = 28	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Arch ? <i>aedicula</i> ?	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.45; (s) 3.45; (e) 1.60; (w) 1.60; extant height: 2.80	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, Sarnese limestone, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Tufa <i>opus incertum</i> bases with traces of white painted plaster with two pillars of <i>opus listatum</i> of brick and Sarnese limestone. No superstructure remains whatsoever. Richardson suggests the pillars support an arch; D'Ambrosio thinks it could have been an arch or an <i>aedicula</i> (Figure A1.27).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–1 BC	Building materials; construction type; pre-dates PNc13	

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 28EN); Richardson (1988: 366–367).



Figure A1.27 PNc14, PNc15, and PNc16

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc15	30EN = 32	Melissaea
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(s) 3.38; depth: 3.24; extant height: 2.74.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Cruma, lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Façade on base of <i>opus incertum</i> of lava and cruma; three arched niches in pedestal; niches have holes for placement of <i>columellae</i> ; one of Nocera tufa found <i>in situ</i> . Stucco profile partly missing; above pediment with tympanum framed by two pillars of <i>opus vittatum</i> of cruma, Sarnese limestone and some lava. Inscription embedded above tympanum; projecting cornice; little remains above cornice. Reconstruction suggests half dome finials on top of pillars. Walls on east and west in poor condition but projected plan indicates depth of enclosure at 3.24 (Figure A1.27).	

Decoration	Architrave and pediment had stucco reliefs; architrave with deer being hunted by two satyrs with bow and arrow, pediment had ritual items including <i>patera</i> and a pitcher.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 30EN), <i>vidi</i>
Location	Marble tablet
Text	<i>Melissaeae N(umeri) f(iliae), / M(arco) Servilio p(atri), / M(arco) Servilio f(ilio).</i> [To Melissaëa, daughter of Numerius. To Marcus Servilius, father. To Marcus Servilius, son.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 50–62	Construction; materials; most tombs in area pre-date AD 62

Comments

Some fragments of *dipinti* (CIL IV 9960, 10248).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 142, 156); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 30EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc16	32EN = 33	Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus
Type	<i>Tholos</i> ?	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 3.52; (s) 3.52; (e) 3.52; (w) 3.52; extant height: (s) 0.80; (n) 3.70	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Tufa, brick, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Square walls of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining; some traces of white painted plaster on south side. Walls built into the side of the hill, rendering south wall much shorter than north wall. Architectural fragments of curved architrave of limestone and three tufa capitals lead to <i>tholos</i> identification. No chamber. One lava <i>columella</i> found <i>in situ</i> . One inscribed lava <i>cippus</i> marking boundary of area believed to be only surviving of pair (Figure A1.27).	
Decoration	Three tufa Corinthian capitals	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 32EN n. 5), <i>non vidi</i>	(Continued)

<i>Location</i>	Lava cippus
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(uci) Sepuni L(uci) f(ili) / Sandili[ani]. / I<n> frontem / p(edes) XX, in a[g]r[um] / [p] (edes) XX. Publice / datum ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i> ⁴⁴ [Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus, son of Lucius. Twenty feet in front, twenty feet in depth. Publicly given by decree of the decurions.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
27 BC–AD 14	dedicated sundials in Temple of Apollo and Triangular Forum as part of magisterial duties (<i>CIL</i> X 802; <i>CIL</i> X 831 = <i>ILS</i> 5619)

Comments
CIL X 802 and 831 record Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus as *duovir* with Marcus Herennius Epidianus. Although no tomb has been identified for him, a disc bearing his epitaph was found across the street (see below PNc29). Likely he was also buried in this area.

Bibliography
D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 32EN).



Figure A1.28 PNc17 and PNc18



Figure A1.29 Cippi above ruins of PNc17

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc17	34EN	Unknown
Type	Podium (?)	
Tomb Dimensions	(s) 4.50	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava	
Form	Structure fell down hillside in earthquake of AD 62; remains still <i>in situ</i> include part of substructure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> measuring 4.50 long; eight lava <i>cippi</i> mark a possibly related burial area; one with triangular top bears inscription, but relation to original commissioner of tomb unknown (Figure A1.28). As inscription is on rear (facing away from street), likely the <i>cippus</i> was being reused in this context (Figure A1.29).	
Decoration	n/a	

(Continued)

Inscription(s)	
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 34EN), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	Triangular lava <i>cippus</i>
Text	<i>Afreia M(arci) l(iberta) / Prima.</i> [Afreia Prima, freedwoman of Marcus.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 1–62	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> AD 62: tomb destroyed by earthquake

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 34EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc18	34A EN	Unknown
Type	<i>Aedicula</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 4.55; depth: 3.42; reconstructed height: ca. 13.15	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Tufa, brick, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Largely destroyed by earthquake in 62; remains consist of pediment, currently located at bottom of hill and part of a base of lava <i>opus incertum</i> . Pediment consists of lava <i>opus incertum</i> core with brick and limestone quoining in <i>opus listatum</i> . Upper portion of brick columns still attached to pediment; tympanum filled with stucco reliefs. Column bases and capitals as well as a number of statues recovered in excavation; one lava and one travertine <i>columella</i> . Based on remains, size of pediment and base remnants, reconstruction of tall <i>aedicula</i> suggested (Figure A1.28).	
Decoration	Attic bases and Corinthian capitals; one female statue, two togate male statues. Stucco relief in tympanum with floral motif, dentil cornice.	

Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
27 BC–AD 14	Construction; style of statues; similarity to PNc66; <i>terminus ante quem</i> AD 62

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 34EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc19	36EN = 38	Unknown
Type	Podium	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 3.59; (s) 3.59; (e) 3.32; (w) 3.32; extant height: 2.80	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Yellow tufa, lava, Sarnese limestone, brick	
Form	Rectangular podium; pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; three arched niches centred in pedestal; remnants of stucco profile between upper and lower zones; upper podium yellow tufa a Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> core with brick quoining; traces of stucco on south-east corner; one (relatively) larger arched niche in centre just above profile; entirety of superstructure not extant. One female and two other lava <i>columellae</i> found <i>in situ</i> in front of niches in lower register (Figure A1.30).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	
Location	n/a	
Text	n/a	
Date	Basis of Date	
30 BC–AD14	Post-dates PNc20; construction similar to PNc34 and PNc65	

(Continued)



Figure A1.30 PNc19, PNc20, and PNc21

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 36EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc20	38EN = 39	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Podium	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 2.79; (s) 2.79; (e) 2.41; (w) 2.41; extant height: 2.80	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Sarnese limestone, tufa, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Rectangular podium; high pedestal of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> ; stucco stepped profile between zones; upper register core of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> with quoining of Sarnese	

limestone and brick *opus listatum*. Entire tomb covered in white painted plaster. Chamber entrance at rear; blocked in antiquity (Figure A1.30).

Decoration n/a

Inscription(s)

Reference n/a

Location n/a

Text n/a

Date **Basis of Date**

50–1 BC Pre-dates PNc19; construction; use of Sarnese limestone

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* advertising gladiatorial games and election notices (*CIL* IV 9961, 9984).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 142, 147); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 38EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc21	40EN	Unknown
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	Width: 3.40; Extant Depth: 2.78	
Materials	Lava	
Form	Enclosure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> walls; contained one uninscribed female lava <i>columella</i> (Figure A1.30).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)	n/a	
Reference	n/a	
Location	n/a	
Text	n/a	
Date	Basis of Date	
unknown		

Comments

Contiguous with PNc22, only one section of wall measuring 4.22 wide and 0.61 high remains because of destruction caused by the modern entrance to the site. It is unclear which tomb this might be.

(Continued)

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 40EN/40A EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc22	40A EN	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.48; depth: 1.08	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> walls; contained one uninscribed female lava <i>columella</i> .	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	



Figure A1.31 PNc23 and PNc24

Date

unknown

Basis of Date**Comments**

Contiguous with PNc21, only one section of wall measuring 4.22 wide and 0.61 high remains due to destruction caused by the modern entrance to the site. It is unclear which tomb this might be.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 40EN/40 A EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc23	42EN = 40	Derecia Methe
Type	House enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	(s) 3.10; (e) 3.57; (w) 3.57; extant height: 2.00	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Tufa	
Form	Three sided enclosure with house-like façade; walls of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> with some quoining of tufa blocks at corners; projecting flat roof above; traces of stucco on front and west side of tomb. North lacks wall; small open chamber slightly lower than ground level; walls smooth painted plaster; foundation for small table or altar on east side; hole for urn against south wall. Inscribed marble <i>columella</i> (Figure A1.31).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 42EN n. 1), <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>	
Text	Derecia / Sp(uri) f(ilia) / Methe / v(ixit) a(nnis) XXI. [Derecia Methe, daughter of Spurius, lived twenty-one years.]	
Date	Basis of Date	
AD 14–68	Similarity to PNc15 and PNc49	

Comments**Bibliography**

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 42EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc24	44EN = 41	Unknown
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) 3.22; (s) 3.22; (e) 4.60; (w) 4.60	
Materials	Lava, Sarnese limestone, brick	
Form	Long, narrow, rectangular enclosure with four walls of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick and limestone <i>opus listatum</i> at corners; façade has four narrow, arched windows looking into enclosure. East side not fully excavated (Figure A1.31).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	
Location	n/a	
Text	n/a	
Date	Basis of Date	
50–1 BC	Use of <i>opus listatum</i> with Sarnese limestone	



Figure A1.32 PNc25, PNc26, and PNc27

Comments
Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 44EN).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc25	19ES = 37	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width 4.80; depth: 3.16; height: 4.08	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Not fully excavated	
<i>Materials</i>	Sarnese limestone, brick	
<i>Form</i>	House-like façade; wall of Sarnese limestone and brick <i>opus vittatum</i> ; door flanked by two recessed arched niches; each niche framed by two engaged columns; topped by pediment; once contained paintings; central door into enclosure (not excavated) has lower pediment than niches; above central pediment inscription (lost) was once embedded (Figure A1.32).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fourth-style paintings depicting gardens with fountain, lattice fence, birds, and flora; traces of red, blue, and yellow paint on cornice; engaged columns all have stucco Ionic bases and Corinthian capitals.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 62–79	Fourth-style paintings; post-dates PNc26	

Comments**Bibliography**

Jashemski (1970–1971: 110); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 19ES); Jashemski (1993: 369).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc26	17ES = 36	Gaius Cuspius Cyrus
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tholos</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.08; (s) 3.08; (e) 3.92; (w) 3.92; extant height: 4.40.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, tufa, limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Nearly square podium of brick construction; door with limestone block posts and lintel in centre of recessed arch; engaged brick columns on front corners with tufa bases and capitals; inscription above door in arch; above projecting brick profile on brick base remains of <i>tholos</i> of multicoloured tufa <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Chamber vaulted; two arched <i>loculi</i> in east and west wall; two arched <i>loculi</i> on either side of larger third <i>loculus</i> in south wall; shaft for light above central <i>loculus</i> in south wall; traces of painted plaster on interior walls. Glass perfume vials and two terracotta lamps found during excavation (Figure A1.32).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Red painted plaster in chamber; elaborate Corinthian capitals.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17ES), <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aio) Cuspio C(ai) l(iberto) Cyro / mag(istro) pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Suburb(ani), / Vesviae Iucundae uxor(i), / C(aio) Cuspio C(ai) l(iberto) Salvio / mag(istro) pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Suburb(ani).</i>⁴⁵ [To Gaius Cuspius Cyrus, freedman of Gaius, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus, to Vesuia Iucunda, his wife, to Gaius Cuspius Salvius, freedman of Gaius, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 54–79	Style of reticulate Neronian; pre-dates PNc25	

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17ES); Richardson (1988: 364–365).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc27	15ES = 35	Lucius Barbidius Communis
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.70; (s) 4.70; (e) 5.85; (w) 5.85; extant height: 3.36.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 1.12; (s) 1.12; (e) 5.17; (w) 5.17 (between PNc26 and PNc27)	
<i>Materials</i>	Sarnese limestone, brick, tufa, travertine	
<i>Form</i>	Façade of brick <i>opus latericium</i> ; central door with travertine posts and lintel; two pairs of engaged brick columns sitting on high brick podium framing arched window on either side of door; slightly projecting profile above door topped with entablature with inscription embedded in middle; cornice above. Eleven <i>columellae</i> excavated <i>in situ</i> ; small altar built into east wall of enclosure (Figure A1.32).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Doric capitals on engaged columns	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES), <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Barbidius L(uci) l(iberti) / Communis mag(ister) / Pag(i) Aug(usti) Fel(icis) Suburb(ani), sibi et / Pithiae P(ubli) l(ibertae) Rufillae uxori, / Vitali et Ianuario l(iberis).</i> ⁴⁶ [Lucius Barbidius Communis, freedman of Lucius, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus, [made this] for himself and Pithia Rufilla, freedwoman of Publius, his wife, [as well as] Vitalius and Ianuarius, children.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 1), <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucio) Barbidio L(uci) l(iberto) Communi.</i> [To Lucius Barbidius Communis, freedman of Lucius.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 2), <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Acris / vixit ann(is) / XV.</i> [Acris lived fifteen years.]	

(Continued)

Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 5), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>
Text	<i>A(ulo) Dentatio / A(uli) l(iberto) Celso.</i> [To Aulus Dentatius Celsus, freedman of Aulus.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 3), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	limestone <i>columella</i>
Text	<i>A(ulus) Dentatius / Fortunatus.</i> [Aulus Dentatius Fortunatus.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 4), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	Limestone <i>columella</i>
Text	<i>A(ulus) Dentatius / Felix.</i> [Aulus Dentatius Felix.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 8), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	<i>Columella</i> of unknown material ⁴⁷
Text	<i>Pompeia Aucta / vix(it) an(nis) XXV.</i> [Pompeia Aucta lived twenty-five years.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 9), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	<i>Columella</i> of unknown material
Text	<i>L(ucio) Barbidio / Vitali.</i> [To Lucius Barbidius Vitalis]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 10), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	<i>Columella</i> of unknown material
Text	<i>Vitalis / puer v(ixit) / ann(is) III.</i> [Vitalis, boy, lived three years.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES n. 11), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	<i>Columella</i> of unknown material
Text	<i>Ianuarius / v(ixit) a(nnis) II.</i> [Ianuarius lived two years.]
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	Dominance of brick; construction; pre-dates PNc26; post-dates PNc28

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15ES).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc28	13ES = 34	Unknown
Type	Podium	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 4.92; (s) 4.92; (e) 2.57; (w) 2.57; extant height: 5.55.	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Sarnese limestone, brick, tufa	



Figure A1.33 PNc28, PNc29, and PNc30

(Continued)

<i>Form</i>	Rectangular pedestal of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> core with brick quoining 0.92; above this two brick steps approximately 0.22 high; die above of limestone <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining; thin projecting cornice; no remains of superstructure above. Traces of stucco on pedestal and die, including pilasters on corners, ashlar masonry, and reliefs. Richardson suggests <i>aedicula</i> reconstruction but no evidence (Figure A1.33).
<i>Decoration</i>	Pedestal white painted plaster with red stripes on outer edges; stucco on both steps but lowest painted red; fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals; stucco on front of die originally drafted as ashlar masonry; stucco relief of panoply of arms.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 25–50	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> AD 62: earthquake repair; construction; pre-dates PNc27

Comments

One recorded *graffito* (CIL IV 10249).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 157–158); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 13ES); Richardson (1988: 250).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc29	11ES = 31	Aulus Veius Atticus
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.60; (s) 4.60; (e) 6.08; (w) 6.08; extant height: 3.02	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure with house-like façade; all four walls of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; large lava block threshold for central door; most walls retain painted plaster covering; façade divided by stuccowork cornice; inscription embedded in middle of recessed tympanum. Two marble <i>columellae</i> found in enclosure at excavation; also reused marble disc (Figure A1.33).	

<i>Decoration</i>	Red band painted around inscription tablet; scroll-work stucco cornice.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulo) Veio / Attico / Augustali.</i> [To Aulus Veius Atticus, Augustalis.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES n. 1), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Veius Atticus / Aug(ustalis).</i> [Aulus Veius Atticus, Augustalis.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES n. 2), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Veius Ny- / mphius v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVIII.</i> [Aulus Veius Nymphius, lived twenty-eight years.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES n. 3); <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble disc
<i>Text</i>	<i>[M(arco) He]rennio A(uli) [f(ilio)] / [Epi]diano II vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / [l]ocu(s) monumento / [h]onoris caussa / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).⁴⁸</i> [To Marcus Herennius Epidianus, son of Aulus, duovir with judicial powers, (sc. was given) this place for a monument for his merits by decree of the decurions.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–60 AD	Witness in Iucundus Tablets AD 56–57 (<i>CIL</i> IV 3340.22, 3340.35, 3340.49, 3340.67, 3340.81, 3340.99, 3340.115); <i>terminus post quem</i> 62: twinning with PNc30 which has earthquake repair

Comments

Marble inscription of M. Herennius Epidianus cut into disc, not complete.

Inscription dates to Augustan period; unclear attribution. *Graffiti* and *dipinti* on façade, including greetings and a games announcement (*CIL* IV 3340.35, 3340.49, 3340.67, 3340.99, 3340.115, 9983a, 10247).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 156); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES); Richardson (1988: 258); Franklin (2004: 27); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 74–75); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc30	9ES/30	Gaius Munatius Faustus
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.60; (s) 4.60; (e) 6.08; (w) 6.08; extant height: 3.02	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure with house-like façade; all four walls of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; large lava block threshold for central door; most walls retain painted plaster covering; façade divided by stuccowork cornice; inscription embedded in middle of recessed tympanum. Eight <i>columellae</i> found during excavation; also thirteen glass <i>lacrimatoria</i> (Figure A1.33).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Red and green bands painted around inscription; stucco cornice with scrollwork and egg and dart	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES), <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Munatius Faustus / Augustal(is) et pagan(us) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) sibi et / Naevoleiae Tyche coniugi.</i> [Gaius Munatius Faustus, Augustalis and paganus, by decree of the decuriones, for himself and Naevoleia Tyche, his wife.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 9ES n. 1, <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aio) Munatio / Faus<t>o.</i> [To Gaius Munatius Faustus.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 9ES n. 2, <i>vidi</i> (photo)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucio) Naevole- / io Eutrapelo.</i> ⁴⁹ [To Lucius Naevolius Eutrapelus.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 3), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Munatia / Euche.</i> ⁵⁰ [Munatia Euche.]	

<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 4), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Helpis / vix(it) a(nnis) III.</i> [Helpis lived three years.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 5), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Primigenia / vix(it) m(ensibus) IX d(iebus) V.</i> [Primigenia lived nine months and five days.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 6)
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Arsinoe / vix(it) ann(is) III.</i> [Arsinoe lived three years.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 7)
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Psiche / vix(it) an(nis) III mensibus VI.</i> [Psiche lived three years and six months.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES n. 8)
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Atimetus / vix(it) annis XXVI.</i> [Atimetus lived twenty-six years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–60	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> of 62: Fourth-style earthquake repair in tympanum

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* in the form of greetings and advertisements for gladiatorial games (CIL IV 9983, 10246).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 146–147, 155–156); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9ES); Richardson (1988: 258); Clarke (2003: 184–185); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 66–69, 74–75); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc31	7ES/29	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure with chamber	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 5.04; (s) 5.04; (e) 6.48; (w) 6.48; height: 1.16	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone, <i>cocciopesto</i>	

(Continued)



Figure A1.34 PNc31 and PNc32

Form

South wall of lava and Sarnese limestone *opus incertum*; three blocks of lava projecting from wall at intervals to act as steps for gaining entrance to enclosure; wall capped but mostly modern restoration. Hypogean chamber in south-east corner of enclosure; lava *opus incertum* walls with some limestone quoining; barrel vaulted; roof of vault in *cocciopesto*; three steps through arched door to chamber below ground level; earth floor; three arched *loculi*; east wall has holes for three urns; west wall two; three in *loculi* in south wall with two more holes in floor directly in front of *loculus* (Figure A1.34).

Decoration

Interior of enclosure walls painted with little trace of colour remaining; chamber walls white painted plaster divided into panels with red and green lines; *aedicula* painted in *loculus* in south wall.

Inscription(s)

<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 14–50	Post-dates PNc32; pre-dates PNc30

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* consisting of names and greetings (CIL IV 10244–10245).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 155); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7ES).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc32	5ES = 25	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Enclosure with facade	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.00; (s) 6.00; (e) 7.30; (w) 7.30; extant height: 2.95	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, cruma, Sarnese limestone, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Deep enclosure with façade of <i>opus incertum</i> constructed with tufa and cruma with limestone and brick <i>opus listatum</i> quoning in upper register; merlons capped with pyramids at corners; threshold, posts, and lintel of large tufa blocks; recess where inscription must have been at top of façade; enclosure east and west walls of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> ; reverse of façade limestone and brick <i>opus listatum</i> ; two arched <i>loculi</i> on either side of vestibule into enclosure; two large arched niches on either side of entrance; traces of painted plaster on façade and interior walls (Figure A1.34).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5ES n. 2), <i>non vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Cartouche on pot	
<i>Text</i>	[Re]stitutus / Castriciaes f(ecit). ⁵¹ [Restitutus, slave of Castricia, made this.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–1 BCw	Pre-dates PNc31; use of Sarnese limestone in <i>opus listatum</i>	

(Continued)



Figure A1.35 PNc33 and PNc34

Comments

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 154–155); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5ES).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc33	3ES = 15	Veia Barchilla
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tumulus</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Base: (n) 7.74; diameter: 7.34; extant height: 4.08	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Masonry, tufa, tile	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; three low arched <i>loculi</i> in north face of pedestal two of which have <i>columellae in situ</i> ; wide stucco profile between pedestal and drum; drum of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; traces of stucco on drum indicate socle zone and orthostats; projecting tile profile	

with some remains of stucco cornice; inscription embedded in north face of drum; superstructure above profile flat; probably covered with earth and vegetation. Chamber entered by narrow arched door on west side of drum; segmental vault with three interior radial walls; shafts for light cut into walls in each interior room (Figure A1.35).

<i>Decoration</i>	Red painted plaster on pedestal; stucco egg and dart cornice above inscription.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 3ES), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>Veia N(umeri) f(ilia) Barchilla / sibi et / N(umerio) Agrestino Equitio / Pulchro viro suo.</i> [Veia Barchilla, daughter of Numerius, for herself and to Numerius Agrestinus Equitius Pulcher, her husband.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 3ES n. 6), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Halo / filio p(ater).</i> [To Halus, son, (dedicated by his) father.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–1 BC	Father known from Republican period; tomb type; comparison to Mausoleum of Augustus and tomb of Caecilia Metella

Comments

Shares huge enclosure with PNc34; not clear when or who built enclosure walls.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 3ES); Richardson (1988: 253–254); Franklin (2001: 21–23).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc34	1ES = 7	The Moneylender
<i>Type</i>	Dado	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 5.77; (s) 5.77; (e) 4.17; (w) 4.17; extant height: 3.37	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, masonry, travertine, limestone, cruma	

(Continued)

Form	Rectangular high pedestal of tufa and cruma <i>opus incertum</i> ; travertine blocks sit on top of pedestal; some traces of stucco profile on top of blocks on east side; above is lowest register of superstructure nearly 2 m high; core of <i>opus caementicium</i> ; two asymmetrical arched <i>loculi</i> in north of pedestal. Chamber entered from south. Four <i>columellae</i> , three lava and one limestone, found <i>in situ</i> (Figure A1.35).
Decoration	Limestone portrait of man in veristic style.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 1ES: 5), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	Fragment of marble tablet
Text	... <i>argen(tari- - -) . . . / . . . [ma]g(ist- - -)</i> <i>pagan[- - -] . . .</i> A moneylender who was also a magistrate of a pagus; not enough of the text remains to ascertain the grammatical cases of the inscribed words.
Date	Basis of Date
27 BC–AD 14	Construction difficult to date precisely; topographical location in shared enclosure and reference to position of <i>magister paganus</i>

Comments

If it is associated with the tomb, Richardson (1988: 205–251) argues the portrait suggests an Augustan date. The portrait is in the veristic style: a semi-realistic portrait which, according to D'Ambra (1998: 26–28) depicts the honour, virtue, wisdom, and patriotism of a Republican citizen. The lines of the face are thought to depict wisdom and dedication, not simply the ravages of advanced age. Koortbojian (1996: 219) states that the '[f]eatures betray a certain idealizing force, as they transformed the representation of aging from an individuated description of physical decline into a generalized vision of the *nobilitas* granted by the long experience of life . . . The old Roman citizen signified not merely longevity but accomplishments, and the fulfilment of those central values that marked his Romanity: *gravitas*, *dignitas* and above all else, *virtus*.' This manner of depiction was utilized so frequently during the first century BC that it could not serve as an accurate depiction of a single individual. Note the similarities of the portrait from the tomb with the example of the veristic style provided by D'Ambra. She suggests that the veristic style was reserved for the elite of Roman citizenry. However, she later contradicts herself by providing an example of a freedman who is depicted in the veristic style on a group portrait from a tomb dated to the late first century BC. She suggests (1998: 45) that the freedman was trying to emulate the virtues of a section of society which he could not become part of himself. Koortbojian (1996: 221) states that the continued use of this style through generations of freedmen and freeborn sons suggests 'how the class of freedmen and their free

born descendants appropriated the current modes of patrician self-expression.’ This style continued to be used long after the Imperial court under Augustus adopted a new style for portraits, which further confuses the date of the portrait from this tomb. Augustus himself was continuously depicted as a young man throughout his life, thoroughly rejecting the idea of wisdom coming with age.

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 1ES); Richardson (1988: 250–251).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc35	1OS = 1	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 5.75; (s) 5.75; (e) 4.31; (w) 4.31; extant height: 5.40	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, basalt, brick, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Substructure of <i>opus incertum</i> of lava; pedestal of large basalt blocks of unequal size but uniform height of 0.92; two steps of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining of different heights: lowest 0.40, highest 0.28; stucco profile still visible in places; uppermost surviving register of same construction type and material; some stucco <i>in situ</i> on north and west sides; projecting cornice; lava base of superstructure; <i>aedicula</i> superstructure lost. Two urns found during excavation with traces of burnt bone and oil (Figure A1.36).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fragment of limestone female figure.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–1 BC	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> AD 14: graffiti announcing games ‘ <i>pro salute Caesarum et Liviae Augustae</i> ’; pre-dates PNc37	

Comments

Grffiti and *dipinti* including the announcement of games (CIL IV 9936–9941, 9968–9969, 10218).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 139, 143, 148); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 1OS).



Figure A1.36 PNc35, PNc36, PNc37, and PNc38

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc36	3OS = 9	Lucius Ceius Serapio
<i>Type</i>	<i>Tholos</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.78; (s) 3.78; (e) 3.78; (w) 3.78; extant height: 3.75	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, limestone, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Square base with tufa <i>opus incertum</i> substructure; traces of stucco profile leading to pedestal of <i>opus incertum</i> with large blocks of limestone quoining; pedestal in stucco drafted into four courses of ashlar. Projecting stucco cornice; round superstructure above of two registers; both tufa <i>opus incertum</i> separated by then layer of bricks; superstructure of upper register mostly missing; remains of four columns in a semicircle with two outer columns connected by wall creating a niche that likely held statues. Two arched <i>loculi</i> for <i>columellae</i> in north face of pedestal (Figure A1.36).	

Decoration	Corinthian capital on a base shaped as truncated cone—likely finial of conical roof.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 3OS, <i>vidi</i>
Location	marble tablet
Text	<i>L(ucius) Ceius L(uci) l(ibertus) Serapio / argentarius / Helvia M(arci) f(ilia) uxor sacr(averunt).</i> [Lucius Ceius Serapio, freedman of Lucius, moneylender, and Helvia, daughter of Marcus, his wife, dedicated this.]
Date	Basis of Date
50–1 BC	Use of Sarnese limestone; construction

Comments

Wall forms enclosure runs behind PNc35 to PNc39; unclear when constructed or if it should be attributed to one specific monument. Tomb sits behind and above PNc35; highly visible despite distance from street level.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 3OS); Richardson (1988: 186–187).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc37	5OS = 3	The Clodii
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) 2.70; (w) 5.04; extant height: 3.60	
Materials	Tufa, Sarnese limestone, cruma, brick	
Form	Three walled enclosure making use of wall of PNc35 on east side; irregular shape, narrower in front (north) than in rear; walls of <i>opus incertum</i> of tufa, limestone and cruma inclusions; four narrow windows approximately 0.25 by 0.55; appears to be second fill layer in windows reducing height about 0.40; rear wall pediment with three arched <i>loculi</i> with <i>columellae in situ</i> ; projecting brick profile around pediment; inscription in tympanum. Additional five <i>columellae</i> found in enclosure in front of rear wall (Figure A1.36).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS), <i>vidi</i>	

(Continued)

<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius) Iustus / sibi et / A(ulo) Clodio (mulieris) l(iberto) Aegialo patri / et Tironiae (mulieris) l(ibertae) Repentinae matri.</i> [Aulus Clodius Iustus, son of Aulus, for himself and his father Aulus Clodius Aegialus, freedman of a woman, and his mother Tironia Repentina, freedwoman of a woman.]
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS n. 2), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Clodiae / A(uli) f(iliae) / sacerdoti / p(ublicae).</i> ⁵² [Clodia, daughter of Aulus, public priestess.]
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 5OS n. 4, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Clodia (mulieris) l(iberta) / Nigella porcar(ia) / publica.</i> ⁵³ [Clodia Nigella, freedwoman of a woman, public swineherd.]
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS n. 5), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Clodius / (mulieris) l(ibertus) Faustus.</i> [Aulus Clodius Faustus, freedman of a woman.]
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS n. 7), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius) / Pompeianus.</i> [Aulus Clodius Pompeianus, son of Aulus.]
<i>Reference</i>	D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS n. 8), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Lucidus / vix(it) an(nis) V.</i> [Lucidius lived five years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	Post-dates PNc35 and PNc38; construction; inscription lettering

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 5OS)

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc38	7OS = 2	The Flavii
<i>Type</i>	Arch	

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 6.50; (s) 6.50; (e) 3.40; (w) 3.40; extant height: 5.54
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	(n) / (s) 6.50; (e) / (w) 1.74
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, Sarnese limestone, basalt
<i>Form</i>	Large arch of rubble masonry core with facing of <i>opus incertum</i> of tufa and Sarnese limestone; central arched door with basalt block posts; two registers separated by step; in façade total of fourteen arched <i>loculi</i> : three each on either side of door in lower register and eight across top of upper register. Two identical chambers in middle of arch; barrel vaulted ceilings; earth floor sunk below ground level; three <i>arcosolia</i> in each chamber. Urns found in chamber on west side. Enclosed area behind arch created by retaining wall running behind tombs in this area (Figure A1.36).
<i>Decoration</i>	Two portrait busts in upper register: one male, one female.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7OS), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet on third niche from right, upper level
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublius) Flavius / P(ubli) l(ibertus) Philoxen(us) / Flavia P(ubli) l(iberta) / Agathea.</i> [Publius Flavius Philoxenus, freedman of Publius, and Flavia Agathea, freedwoman of Publius.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7OS), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet on fourth niche from right, upper level
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublius) Flavius P(ubli) l(ibertus) / Philoxenus / Flavia P(ubli) l(iberta) Agathea / vivont.</i> [Publius Flavius Philoxenus, freedman of Publius, and Flavia Agathea, freedwoman of Publius, they live.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 7OS, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	On plinth of female bust in second niche from right, upper level
<i>Text</i>	<i>Flavia, P(ubli) l(iberta) / Agathea Salinie(nsis).</i> [Flavia Agathea Saliniensis, freedwoman of Publius.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 7OS, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Spiron / vix(it) ann(is) III.</i> [Spiron lived three years.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7OS n. 2); <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Written in charcoal in <i>arcosolium</i> in north wall on west side
<i>Text</i>	<i>Flavio / Philoxeni.</i> ⁵⁴ [To Flavius Philoxenus.]

(Continued)

Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 7OS n. 3, <i>non vidi</i>
Location	Written in charcoal beneath cinerary urns in <i>arcosolium</i> of west wall on west side
Text	<i>Acastus.</i> [Acastus.]
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7OS n. 3), <i>non vidi</i>
Location	Written in charcoal beneath cinerary urns in <i>arcosolium</i> of west wall on west side in Greek
Text	<i>Agathea / Flavia.</i> [Agathea Flavia.]
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
70–30 BC	Pre-dates PNc37; epigraphic style, e.g. <i>vivont</i> instead of <i>vivunt</i>

Comments

An unrelated series of poor burials of a later date was found in front of the tomb.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 7OS); Richardson (1988: 187–188).



Figure A1.37 PNc39, PNc40, and PNc41

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNC39	9OS = 4	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.06; (s) 3.06; (e) 3.10; (w) 3.10; extant height: 5.90	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Nocera tufa, brick, lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Substructure of lava-stone work; pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with quoining of Sarnese limestone and Nocera tufa; projecting profile of tufa and <i>cocciopesto</i> ; <i>aedicula</i> superstructure with rear wall of lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; east and west walls <i>opus vittatum</i> of Sarnese limestone; <i>aedicula</i> framed by two brick columns; entire structure once covered with white painted plaster drafted as ashlar masonry. Two seated statues in niche. Small tomb chamber accessible from rear of structure (Figure A1.37).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Pompeian Ionic columns; seated tufa statues of man and woman.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–20 BC	pre-dates PNC40; use of Sarnese limestone	

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 9OS); Richardson (1988: 185–186).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNC40	11OS = 8	Eumachia
<i>Type</i>	Exedra	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 13.90; (s) 13.90; (e) 13.09; (w) 13.09; extant height: 6.70; exedra: 13.55 by 5.65	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	

(Continued)

Materials**Form**

Lava, bricks, Nocera tufa

Low terrace walled faced with lava *opus incertum* quoined with bricks at corners; profile of lava blocks; central low entrance into enclosure with lava posts and door; stairs up to top of terrace. Low walls on east and west of lava *opus incertum* frame enclosure; substructure of lava just visible in places; rectangular pedestal revetted with one level of Nocera tufa slabs; tufa projecting profile; two narrow steps with moulded profile; lower register of exedra revetted with Nocera tufa slabs simulating two deep courses of drafted ashlar with a base moulding; remains of superstructure above lava *opus caementicium* core. Three niches in curved wall of exedra; straight rear wall divided by six engaged columns with Attic bases. Chamber entered through low door in rear wall; two symmetrical chambers on either side of central door; nine *loculi* in each chamber. Numerous architectural fragments found. Ten *columellae* in front of terrace: five lava, two limestone, two marble, one unknown. Three *columellae* in southwest corner of enclosure (Figure A1.37).

Decoration

Fragments of Corinthian capitals; dentil cornice; three round altars of Nocera tufa with friezes of *erotes* carrying animals and garlands surmounted by *omphaloi* with coiled serpents; limestone frieze depicting an Amazonomachy, and marble sculptures in the round.

Inscription(s)**Reference****Location****Text**

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 110S), *vidi* limestone tablet on east side of tomb entrance
Eumachia / L(uci) f(ilia).
[Eumachia, daughter of Lucius.]

Reference**Location****Text**

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 110S), *vidi* Limestone tablet on west side of tomb entrance
Sibi et suis.
[For herself and hers.]

Reference**Location****Text**

D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 110S n. 7, *vidi* (photo)
Marble *columella*
L(ucius) Eumachius / Aprilis / vixit annis XX.⁵⁵
[Lucius Eumachius Aprilis lived twenty years.]

<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 11OS n. 10, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cn(eio) Alleio Mai lib(erto) / Eroti Augustali / gratis creato, cui / Augustales et Pa[gani] / in funeris honor(ibus) / HS singula milia / decreverunt, vixit / annis XXII.</i> ⁵⁶ [To Gnaeus Alleius Eros, freedman of Maius, who was made an Augustalis for free, and was given one thousand sesterces in honour of his funeral by the Augustales and paganus. He lived twenty-two years.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11OS n. 12), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cn(eius) Alleius Logus / omnium collegioru(m) / benemeritus.</i> [Gnaeus Alleius Logus rendered outstanding services to all the colleges.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11OS n. 13), <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Pomponia Dech- / arcis Allei Nobilis / Allei Mai mater.</i> [Pomponia Decharcis, (wife) of Alleius Nobilis, mother of Alleius Maius.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–30	Post-dates PNc39 and PNc41 ; prosopography; date of Eumachia Building

Comments

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 149–150); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11OS); Richardson (1988: 256–257).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc41	13OS = 11	Marcus Octavius
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.84; (s) 3.84; (e) 2.88; (w) 2.88; extant height: 6.53	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	

(Continued)

Materials	Tufa, brick
Form	Low base of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with four arched <i>loculi</i> in front; tufa profile; high pedestal of <i>opus incertum</i> and <i>opus vittatum</i> of Nocera tufa and Sarnese limestone (Figure A1.37).
Decoration	Pompeian Ionic capitals; togate statue of older man; <i>pudicitia</i> statue; statue of young soldier in curiass; traces of stucco on east and west sides; thin projecting profile topped with large niche; four brick columns with Pompeian Ionic capitols, stucco fluting; three tufa statues in niche. Very top of <i>aedicula</i> has modern restoration. Seven associated <i>columellae</i> : four for women; two <i>in situ</i> in front of niches in façade.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	CIL I ² 3133, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
Location	marble tablet
Text	<i>M(arcus) Octavius M(arci) f(ilius) / Men(enia), et Vertia (mulieris) l(iberta) / Philumina, in loco / communi monument(um) / communem sibi / postereisque / suis fecerunt.</i>
	[Marcus Octavius, son of Marcus, member of the Menenian voting tribe, and Vertia Philumina, freedwoman of a woman, built on communal ground a shared monument for themselves and their descendants.]
Date	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–20 BC	Pre-dates PNc40; contemporaneous to PNc39; style of statues

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 13OS); Richardson (1988: 185–186).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc42	15OS = 16	Gaius Minatius Iucundus
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	2.95 × 4.75 ⁵⁷	

<i>Materials</i>	Lava
<i>Form</i>	This burial area is not enclosed or demarcated in any specific way structurally. A lava <i>cippus</i> found at the front of the area provides the dimensions of the space as 10 by 16 Roman feet. The depth of the area nearly reaches the wall to the south, in which a <i>columella</i> bearing the name of Antistia Auxesis is embedded. It is unclear if this relates to PNc42 (Figure A1.38).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15OS), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Lava <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Minatius / Iucundus / mag(ister) pag(anorum) / Pag(i) Aug(usti) / F(elicis) [S] (ub) Ur[bani]. / In f(rontem) p(edes) X / int(ro)</i> ⁵⁸ <i>p(edes) XVI.</i> ⁵⁹ [Gaius Minatius Iucundus, magister of the Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus. Ten feet in front, sixteen feet in depth.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15OS), <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Cipollino marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Antistia M(arci) l(iberta) / Auxesis.</i> [Antistia Auxesis, freedwoman of Marcus.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
<i>Terminus post quem</i> Augustan	Membership in <i>pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus</i> .

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15OS); Emmerson (2011).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc43	17OS = 14	The Tilli
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.98; (s) 4.98; (e) 3.40; (w) 3.40; extant height: 5.15	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, concrete, Nocera tufa	

(Continued)

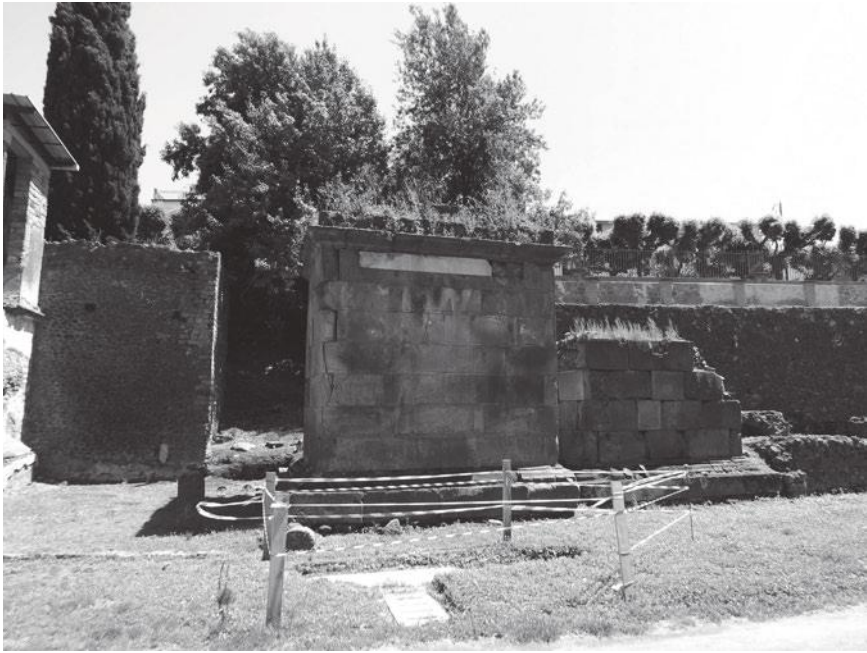


Figure A1.38 PNc42, PNc43, PNc44, PNc45, and PNc48

Form

Substructure of lava *opus incertum*; tufa base of one level; tufa profile above; seven courses of drafted blocks of Nocera tufa; core of tufa *opus incertum* (visible from rear only); projecting stucco cornice; two steps of *opus incertum* core all that remains of superstructure with some modern reconstruction; long inscribed marble plate embedded in top level of blocks. Chamber entered from rear; barrel vault (Figure A1.38).

Decoration

Stucco cornice with egg and dart and beads on north and east sides.

Inscription(s)

Reference

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17OS A–E), *vidi*

Location

Marble tablet

Text

[- - ⁶⁰ Tillius] C(ai) f(ilius) Cor(nelia) / [tr(ibunus) mil(itum) l]eg(ionis) X equest(ris) / duovir i(ure) d(icundo) // C(aio) Tillio C(ai) f(ilio) Cor(nelia) / Rufo patri duomvir(o) / i(ure) d(icundo) bis aedili i(ure) d(icundo) Arpini / auguri Verulis, // C(aio) Tillio L(uci) f(ilio) / Cor(nelia) avo, // Fadiae C(ai) f(iliae) / Matri, // C(aio) Tillio C(ai) f(ilio) C[or](nelia) / Rufo fratri tr(ibunus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) X auguri Verulis.

[(- - -) Tillius son of Gaius, member of the Cornelian voting tribe, military tribune of the tenth equestrian legion, duovir with judicial powers, to Gaius Tillius Rufus, father, son of Gaius, member of the Cornelian voting tribe, duovir with judicial powers, twice aedile with judicial powers in Arpinum, augur at Verulae, to Gaius Tillius, son of Lucius, member of Cornelian voting tribe, grandfather, to Fadia, daughter of Gaius, mother, to Gaius Tillius Rufus, son of Gaius, member of the Cornelian voting tribe, brother, military tribune of the tenth legion, augur at Verulae.]

Date

70–31 BC

Basis of Date

Terminus ante quem 31 BC: Tenth legion name changed to Gemina after Actium

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* advertising gladiatorial games (*CIL* IV 9954, 9978–9980).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 142, 145–146); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 170S); Richardson (1988: 246–247).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc44	17A OS	Unknown
Type	Niche	
Tomb Dimensions	(n) 1.42; (e) 1.23; (w) 1.23; height: 0.74	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Small, three sided niche with vault (similar to the two children's PE17 and PE18) built of lava and Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> (Figure A1.38).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	
Location	n/a	
Text	n/a	
Date	Basis of Date	
AD 62–79	Construction and style	

Comments

(Continued)

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17A OS).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc45	17/17B OS	The Muttii
<i>Type</i>	Niche	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 1.42; (e) 1.38; (w) 1.38; height: 0.69	
<i>Enclosure</i>	n/a	
<i>Dimensions</i>		
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Small, three sided niche with vault (similar to the two children's PE17 and PE18) built of lava and Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> . Five associated <i>columellae</i> and a reused inscription on a marble tablet (half found in vault, half found in pavement) (Figure A1.38).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17/17B OS)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>T(itus) Mut/tius Pro/culus v(ixit) / a(nnis) XXV.</i> [Titus Mutius Proculus lived twenty-five years.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17/17B OS)	
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Muttius / Martialis.</i> [Lucius Muttius Martialis.]	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17/17B OS).	
<i>Location</i>	Marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Nicostratus / Popidius sibi et / Popidia Ecdoche / concubinae suae et suis.</i> ⁶¹ [Nicostratus Popidius for himself and Popidia Ecdoche his concubine and theirs.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
Unknown		

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 17/17B OS).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc46	19A OS	Helle
<i>Type</i>	Unknown	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Materials</i>	Marble	
<i>Form</i>	Single inscribed marble <i>columella</i> , boundaries of enclosure unclear; may be related to PNc44 or PNc45 (Figure A1.39).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 19a OS)	
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Helle puel- / la vixit an- / nis IV.</i> [Helle, (slave?) girl, lived four years.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
unknown		
<i>Comments</i>		

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 19A OS).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc47	19B OS	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Unknown	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Materials</i>	Cement, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Remains of an <i>opus caementicium</i> core (Figure A1.39).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Fragment of tufa cornice.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	

(Continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
unknown	

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 19A OS / 19B OS)

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc48	19OS = 18	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 4.53; (s) 4.53; (e) 3.48; (w) 3.48; extant height: 2.86	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Nocera tufa; lava, concrete	



Figure A1.39 PNc46, PNc47, PNc49, PNc50, and PNc51

Form Concrete substructure faced with broken lava *opus incertum*; base of Nocera tufa blocks with capped profile similar to PNc43; core of *opus caementicium* revetted with four courses of Nocera tufa blocks drafted to resemble ashlar; small recess for inscription. No superstructure remains. Small arched *loculi* in rear; *columella in situ* (Figure A1.38).

Decoration**Inscription(s)****Reference** n/a**Location** n/a**Text** n/a**Date** **Basis of Date**

50–20 BC Post-dates PNc43 slightly; construction; style of profile

Comments**Bibliography**

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 19OS); Richardson (1988: 246–247).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc49	21OS = 20	Stallia Haphe
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	Width: 3.50; depth: 4.40; extant height: 1.90	
Materials	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Enclosure of lava <i>opus incertum</i> walls with façade with pediment of Sarnese limestone with two pilasters. Enclosure entrance at rear. Very little still visible (Figure A1.39).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 21OS n. 1), <i>non vidi</i>	
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>	
Text	<i>Stalliae / Haphe, (mulieris) l(ibertae)</i> . [To Stallia Haphe, freedwoman of a woman.]	
Reference	D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: 21OS n. 2, <i>non vidi</i>	
Location	Marble <i>columella</i>	

(Continued)

<i>Text</i>	<i>Bebrix / vix(it) an(nis) VI.</i> [Bebrix lived six years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–79	Similarity to PNc15; post-dates PNc48

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 210S); van Andringa et al. (2013: 597–680).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc50	23OS = 21	Publius Vesonius Phileros
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 2.72; (s) 2.72; (e) 1.64; (w) 1.64; extant height: 6.50	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa, brick	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal with core of lava <i>opus incertum</i> quoined with brick; two inscriptions in pedestal; one embedded; other added later; narrow stucco profile; <i>aedicula</i> above of brick with <i>opus incertum</i> core; shallow niche topped with pediment; contains three headless tufa statues. Small chamber entered through low arch in rear; sixteen <i>columellae</i> associated with tomb (Figure A1.39).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Little remains of stuccowork; two male togate statues; one female in chiton and mantle carrying a torch.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1986: 166 = 2002: 335 = 2006: 291, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	marble tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublius) Vesonius (mulieris) l(ibertus) / Phileros 'Augustalis' / vivos monument(um) / fecit sibi et suis. // Vesoniae P(ubli) f(iliae) / patronae et // M(arco) Orfello M(arci) l(iberto) / Fausto amico.</i> [Publius Vesonius Phileros freedman of a woman, Augustalis, built this monument whilst living for himself and his, to Vesonia daughter of Publius, patrona, and to Marcus Orfellius Faustus, son of Marcus, friend.]	

<i>Reference</i>	AE 1964: 160 = AE 1986: 166b = AE 2006: 291, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	limestone tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>Hospes paullisper morare / si non est molestum et quid evites / cognosce. Amicum hunc quem / speraveram mi esse, ab eo mihi accusato- / res subiecti et iudicia instaurata. Deis / gratias ago et meae innocentiae, omni / molestia liberatus sum. Qui nostrum mentitur / eum nec di Penates nec inferi recipiant.</i> [Stranger, stop if it is no bother and know what to avoid. A man I hoped would be a friend to me, he brought accusers upon me and instigated legal proceedings. I thank the gods and my innocence, I am relieved of all distress. Who misrepresents our case, he neither the Penates nor the gods of the underworld shall receive.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 2006: 291, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublius) Vesonius / Pileros.</i> [Publius Vesonius P(h)ileros.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 2006: 292, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Vesonia, / P(ubli) f(ilia).</i> [Vesonia daughter of Publius.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 2006: 293, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublio) Vesonio / Proculo. / V(ixit) a(nnis) XIII.</i> [To Publius Vesonius Proculus. He lived thirteen years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 2006: 294, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Travertine <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Vesonia Urbana / vixit annis XX.</i> [Vesonia Urbana lived twenty years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 2006: 295, <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Eliodo- / rus vix(it) / annis / XVIII.</i> [Eliodorus lived eighteen years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 25–50	<i>Terminus post quem</i> Augustus; <i>terminus ante quem</i> 62; style of statues

Comments

(Continued)

Graffito in the form of a greeting (*CIL* IV 10240). Evidence that the base of the tomb was buried in antiquity (probably after earthquake) and the new level was used for additional, unrelated burials. Area of **PNc50–52** has been found to contain multiple phases of burial, largely of cremated remains in urns but also some interments of babies, reuse, and funeral pyres, none of which are necessarily related to the standing structures.

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 153); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 23OS); Richardson (1988: 250); van Andringa and Lepetz (2005); Hackworth Petersen (2006: 78–79); Berry (2007: 96); van Andringa, et al. (2008); Lepetz and van Andringa 2011; van Andringa et al. (2013).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc51	25OS = 22	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Niche	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.05; (s) 3.05; (e) 1.70; (w) 1.70; extant height: 1.72	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Small niche tomb of lava and Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> with arched niche (Figure A1.39).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Small traces of stucco in niche.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 62–79	Similarity to PE17 and PE18	

Comments

Area of **PNc50–52** has been found to contain multiple phases of burial, largely of cremated remains in urns but also some interments of babies, reuse, and funeral pyres, none of which are necessarily related to the standing structures.

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 25/25a OS); van Andringa et al. (2013).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc52	25aOS = 45	Castricia Prisca



Figure A1.40 PNc52

<i>Type</i>	Niche
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 1.67; depth: 1.43; height: 1.30
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone, brick
<i>Form</i>	Small niche of <i>opus incertum</i> lava and limestone walls built into retaining wall of PNc50; pediment roof largely modern restoration; small arched niche; inscription originally in tympanum; <i>columellae</i> in niche. Interior and exterior walls stuccoed and decorated (Figure A1.40).
<i>Decoration</i>	No decoration remains but originally had birds and garlands painted on façade.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 25aOS n. 1), <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Castriciae (mulieris) lib(ertae) / Priscae. Vixit annis / XXV. Hic sita est.</i> [To Castricia Prisca, freedwoman of a woman. She lived twenty-five years. Here she lies.]
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 25aOS n. 1), <i>vidi</i> (photo)

(Continued)

<i>Location</i>	Limestone tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>Castricia / (mulieris) l(iberta) Prisca / vix(it) ann(is) XXV. H(ic) s(ita) e(st).</i> [Castricia Prisca, freedwoman of a woman, lived twenty-five years. Here she lies.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 50–62	Post-dates PNc50; <i>terminus ante quem</i> 62: earthquake damage

Comments
Area of PNc50–52 has been found to contain multiple phases of burial, largely of cremated remains in urns but also some interments of babies, reuse, and funeral pyres, none of which are necessarily related to the standing structures.

Bibliography
D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 25/25a OS); van Andringa et al. (2013).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc53	27OS = 42	Aulus Campius Antiocus
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i> (?)	



Figure A1.41 PNc53, PNc54, and PNc55

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.61; (s) 3.61; (e) 2.64; (w) 2.64; extant height: 4.41
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, lava, Sarnese limestone, tufa
<i>Form</i>	Tall pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with brick quoining; projecting limestone profile; Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> in what remains of superstructure; remnants of square pillars and three statues recovered in excavation suggest <i>aedicula</i> (Figure A1.41).
<i>Decoration</i>	Statues of man, woman, and child.
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 27OS); <i>vidi</i> (photo)
<i>Location</i>	Limestone plaque
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Campius / T(iti) l(ibertus) Antiocus</i> . [Aulus Campius Antioc(h)us freedman of Titus.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–25 BC	Construction; use of Sarnese limestone

Comments***Bibliography***

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 27OS); Richardson (1988: 186).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc54	29OS = 43	Annedia & Lucius Caesius
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.68; (s) 3.68; (e) 3.32; (w) 3.32; extant height: 5.90	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Brick, lava	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with extensive brick quoining; projecting profile of lava stone work; traces of stucco drafted as ashlar masonry on all sides; single niche <i>aedicula</i> above; remnants of two brick columns at front; brick pillars at rear connected by lava wall to create niche (Figure A1.41).	

(Continued)

<i>Decoration</i>	Traces of stucco <i>fasces</i> flanking inscription; Ionic capitols and bases on columns
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	<i>CIL</i> I ² 3132, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble disc
<i>Text</i>	<i>Annedia Q(uinti) f(ilia) / ex testamento / suo de sua pequnia / heredes suos iusit / fieri monumentum / sibi et L(ucio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) / d(uo) v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) viro suo.</i> [Annedia, daughter of Quintus, ordered her heirs by testament to build with her own money a monument for herself and Lucius Caesius, son of Gaius, duovir with judicial powers, her husband.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
70–30 BC	Lack of <i>tria nomina</i> ; Republican magistrate (<i>CIL</i> I ² 1628 = X 819 = <i>ILS</i> 6356)

Comments

Dipinto advertising gladiatorial games (*CIL* IV 9985).

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 147); D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 29OS); Richardson (1988: 186).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc55	31OS = 44	The Stronnii
<i>Type</i>	Altar	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.34; (s) 3.34; (e) 2.90; (w) 2.90; extant height: 3.15	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Altar entirely of tufa; moulded profiles of tufa at base; four courses of large tufa blocks; projecting cornice; altar topped with pair of lions, each with a paw on the head of a goat (Figure A1.41).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	<i>CIL</i> I ² 3134, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	directly inscribed on tomb	

Text	<i>C(aio) Stronnio P(ubli) f(ilio) Pap(iria), pater.⁶²</i> <i>/ C(aio) Stronnio C(ai) f(ilio) Pap(iria). //</i> <i>M(arcus) Stronnius C(ai) l(ibertus) Meinius /</i> <i>de sua peg(unia) fec(it) patroneis / sueis et sibi</i> <i>et Stronniae C(ai) l(ibertae) / Acatarchini.</i> [To Gaius Stronnius, son of Publius, member of the Papirian voting tribe, father. To Gaius Stronnius, son of Gaius, member of the Papirian voting tribe, Marcus Stronnius Meinius, freedman of Gaius, made this with his own money for his patrons and himself and Stronnia Acatarchis, freedwoman of Gaius.]
Date	Basis of Date
70–30 BC	Lettering of inscription; construction

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* supporting political candidates and advertising gladiatorial games (CIL IV 9961a, 9986). Lions were a popular funerary motif in Greece in the Hellenistic period, most often used as *epithemata* (Fedak 2006: 81–82). In Italy, however, there is an even earlier antecedent, as the sixth-century Tomb of the Bulls in the Etruscan city of Tarquinia contains a painting of Achilles ambushing Troilus, in which Achilles is hiding beside an altar on top of which two lions are perched. The design of PNc55 bears a striking resemblance to that image.

Bibliography

Della Corte (1958: 147); D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 31OS); Richardson (1988: 188).

PORTA DI NOCERA EAST/FONDO PACIFICO

This area is a continuation of the necropolis that begins outside of the Porta di Nocera (Figure A1.42). In other words, there was a continuous line of tombs stretching from the city gate eastwards well beyond the walled circuit of the city. The division between the two areas is a false one created by the modern entrance to Pompeii. There are actually two small groups of tombs and other burial areas, only some of which are presently visible. Farthest to the east are six tombs known as the Fondo Pacifico group, which were originally excavated and reburied in the nineteenth century. These tombs remain unexcavated today as they are on private property, beyond the limits of the archaeological site. Publications consist primarily of reports from the original excavation (Sogliano 1886; 1887a; 1887b; Mau 1888; 1908: 450–454). An additional group of tombs was excavated in 1983 by D'Ambrosio and De Caro, whose report in *Römische Gräberstraßen* is the primary publication for this portion of the cemetery (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987). One aspect of marked difference between this group and the other cemeteries associated with Pompeii is the presence of a number of small areas

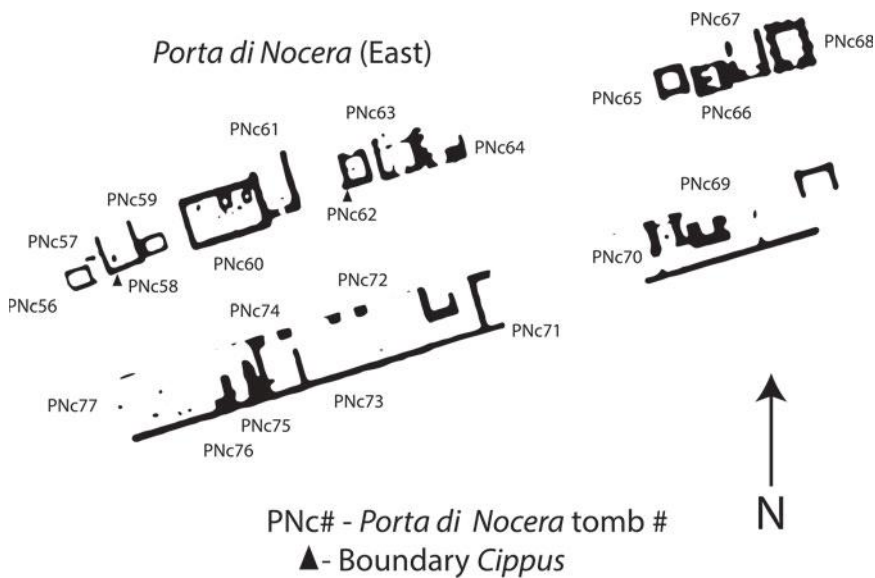


Figure A1.42 Plan of necropolis at Porta di Nocera East/Fondo Pacifico

of *columellae* that are not associated with a larger monument. Altogether, there are seventy-six *columellae* in this area, only nineteen of which contain an inscription (D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 201). The vast majority are made of lava, and are virtually undatable.

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNC56	A Nord	Unknown
Type	Aedicula (?)	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 2.10; depth: 1.60; extant height: 2.79	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Tufa, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Pedestal with core of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> with <i>opus vittatum</i> of Sarnese limestone; majority of structure still covered with white painted plaster; no superstructure but similarity to other tombs suggests it supported an <i>aedicula</i> . Recess in upper façade where inscription belongs (Figure A1.43).	
Decoration	n/a	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	



Figure A1.43 PNc56, PNc57, PNc58, and PNc59

<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–1 BC	Construction techniques; materials

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 202–204).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc57	B Nord	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Niche	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 0.61; depth: 0.75; extant height: 0.66	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	

(Continued)

Materials	Tufa
Form	Small barrel vaulted niche of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> attached to east side of PNC56; interior painted plaster; lava female <i>columella in situ</i> in niche; two more lava <i>columellae</i> (one female) found in area between PNC57 and PNC58; rectangular slab covering libation tube in front of female <i>columella</i> (Figure A1.43).
Decoration	Black and red spots on white painted plaster on interior.
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
AD 62–79	<i>Terminus post quem</i> early Augustan; post-dates PNC56; similarity to other niche tombs (PE17, PE18, PNC51)

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 204–205).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNC58	C Nord	Unknown
Type	Enclosure/ <i>ustrinum</i> (?)	
Tomb Dimensions	n/a	
Enclosure Dimensions	Width: 3.51; depth: 3.76; extant height: 1.50	
Materials	Tufa, Sarnese limestone, tile	
Form	Three-sided enclosure with walls of tufa <i>opus incertum</i> with some limestone inclusions and quoining; tile fragments in south wall embedded in masonry; cinerary urn found near west wall. Large amount of ash and charcoal in area suggests may have been <i>ustrinum</i> (Figure A1.43).	
Decoration	Tile fragments representing a <i>libella</i>	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	

<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 14–79	Post-dates PNc59; typical Imperial structure; cannot be more precise

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 205).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc59	D Nord	Caecilia Agathia
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i> (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	width: 2.12; depth: 1.62; extant height: 2.60	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone, Nocera tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal of lava and limestone <i>opus incertum</i> walls with quoining of limestone and Nocera tufa <i>opus vittatum</i> ; majority of tomb retains white painted plaster; inscription embedded in top of pedestal; no superstructure remains; small niche in rear of pedestal (Figure A1.43).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 177a, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Limestone tablet	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Caecilia L(uci) l(iberta) Agathia / viva sabei fecit et / L(ucio) Caecilio L(uci) l(iberto) Dioscuridi / viro suo.</i> [Caecilia Agathia, freedwoman of Lucius made this whilst living for herself and Lucius Caecilius Dioscurides, freedman of Lucius, her husband.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–20 BC	Style of inscription; use of Sarnese limestone with lava; construction	

Comments

(Continued)



Figure A1.44 PNc60 and PNc61

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 206–207).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc60	E Nord	Novia Amoena
Type	Enclosure	
Tomb Dimensions	Altar height: 1.57; niche height: 1.41	
Enclosure Dimensions	Width: 6.50; depth: 4.34; extant height: 1.86.	
Materials	Brick, lava, Nocera tufa, Sarnese limestone	
Form	Enclosure wall of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with eight narrow arched windows in façade (0.67 by 0.14); pillars of lava and brick at corners capped with merlons (west side still largely intact). Enclosure contains a brick altar with inscription just off from centre; by eastern wall sitting on tile substructure with base of lava <i>opus incertum</i> is arched niche of Nocera tufa and Sarnese limestone <i>opus incertum</i> ; niche contains marble <i>columella</i> ; additional <i>columellae</i> still <i>in situ</i> in enclosure; some cinerary urns; one urn contained Tiberian coin (Figure A1.44).	

<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 178a = AE 1992: 273b, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble plaque in altar
<i>Text</i>	<i>Novia C(ai) l(iberta) Amoena / sibi et suis / et L(ucio) Iacellio Virillioni.</i> [Novia Amoena, freedwoman of Gaius, for herself and hers, and to Lucius Iacellius Virillio.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE (1990) 178b, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cornelia Quieta / vixit annis XXX.</i> [Cornelia Quieta, lived thirty years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 178c, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Novius / (mulieris) l(ibertus) Lupercus.</i> [Gaius Novius Lupercus, freedman of a woman.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 178d, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Cn(aeus) Turranius / Primus vix(it) an(nos) XXXX.</i> [Gnaeus Turranius Primus lived forty years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 54–79	Style of letters; <i>terminus post quem</i> Tiberius

Comments

The inscription is of note for two reasons: the tablet, of Luna marble, remains half empty, and the inscriptions are in two different styles. The first two lines are *capitalis quadrata* type letters, and the second part is written in a different font called *actuarial*. Both types of lettering date to the Neronian/Flavian period, but clearly were inscribed at different times by different hands.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 207–209).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc61	F Nord	Gaius Veranius Rufus
<i>Type</i>	House enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.50; depth: 4.24; extant height: 2.56.	
<i>Materials</i>	Sarnese limestone, lava	

(Continued)

<i>Form</i>	Enclosure with house-like façade with walls of Sarnese limestone and lava <i>opus incertum</i> ; stucco profile around pediment; inscription embedded in tympanum; façade covered with white painted plaster mostly intact; arched doorway through façade into enclosure; two inscribed marble <i>columella</i> , one female lava <i>columella</i> , three uninscribed lava <i>columellae</i> and lava <i>cippus</i> (Figure A1.44).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 179a, <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble tablet
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aio) Veranio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Rufo II vir(o) / Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta) Clara optimo / patrono sibi et suis.</i> [To Gaius Veranius Rufus, son of Quintus, duovir, Verania Clara, freedwoman of Quintus, to the best patron for herself and hers.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 179b, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta) / Clara.</i> [Verania Clara, freedwoman of Quintus.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 179c, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Veranius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Rufus aed(ilis).</i> [Gaius Veranius Rufus, son of Quintus, aedile.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 54–79	Construction; style; similarity to PV1; PN1

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 209–210).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc62	G Nord	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Naiskos</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 2.92; depth: 2.55; extant height: 1.84	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	



Figure A1.45 PNC62, PNC63, and PNC64

Materials	Lava, Nocera tufa
Form	Pedestal and burial chamber all that remains; <i>opus incertum</i> walls of lava with slabs of Nocera tufa revetment; core of lava <i>opus caementiciuim</i> ; barrel vaulted chamber entered from rear; skeleton found in southwest corner of chamber believed to be victim of eruption. Architectural fragments found at excavation evidence for reconstruction (Figure A1.45).
Decoration	Fragments of cornice, fluted columns
Inscription(s)	
Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
70–30 BC	Similarity to Republican <i>aedicula</i> ; use of lava <i>opus caementicium</i>

(Continued)

Comments

The *naiskos* is typical of Greek funerary architecture, found in abundance in the Kerameikos in Athens. It is related to the *aedicula* which is a purely Roman form of a temple tomb.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 211–212).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc63	H Nord	The Blaesii
<i>Type</i>	Arch	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.56; depth: 2.70; extant height: 3.10.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Arch of <i>opus incertum</i> of lava and Sarnese limestone; minor traces of projecting cornice of stucco but nothing remains above this. Inscriptions embedded in top of arch; two lava <i>columellae</i> found behind structure (Figure A1.45).	
<i>Decoration</i>	Nocera tufa <i>pudicitia</i> statue; likely associated with PNc62.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 180a, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Grey marble central panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Blaesiae / C(ai) l(ibertae) Nicae / Malchio l(ibertus)</i> . [To Blaesia Nica, freedwoman of Gaius, by Malchio, freedman.]	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 180b, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Grey marble left panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Blaesiae / (mulieris) l(ibertae) Quartae</i> . [Blaesia Quarta, freedwoman of a woman.]	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 180c, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Grey marble right panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Blaesius / (mulieris) l(ibertus) Malchio</i> . [Marcus Blaesius Malchio, freedman of a woman.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
27 BC–AD 14	Type; construction	
<i>Comments</i>		

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 212–213).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc64	I Nord	The Lollii
<i>Type</i>	Arch	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.20; depth: 1.32; extant height: 3.20	
<i>Enclosure</i>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone	
<i>Form</i>	Arch of <i>opus incertum</i> and <i>opus vittatum</i> of lava and limestone; white stucco facing remains on west wall; inscriptions embedded in top of structure. Six <i>columellae</i> found in area during excavation; attribution unclear (Figure A1.45).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 181a, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Marble central panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Nicia / Lollia M(arci) l(iberta) / Hermiona / et libert(is) et liberta(bus)</i> . ⁶³ [Marcus Lollius Nicia, freedman of Marcus, Lollia Hermiona, freedwoman of Marcus (for themselves) and their freedmen and freedwomen.]	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 181b, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Travertine left panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Lollius / M(arci) l(ibertus) Felix</i> . [Marcus Lollius Felix, freedman of Marcus.]	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 181c, <i>vidi</i>	
<i>Location</i>	Travertine right panel	
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Lollius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Lucrio</i> . [Marcus Lollius Lucrio, freedman of Marcus.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50–1 BC	Type; construction; materials	

Comments

Some traces of red *dipinti* advertising gladiatorial games.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 213–215).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc65	Fondo Pacifico 3	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Podium	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 5.18; depth: 4.50; extant height: 3.40.	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava	
<i>Form</i>	Lava <i>opus incertum</i> podium covered with white stucco drafted as ashlar and orthostats; pilasters at corners; three low arched <i>loculi</i> in façade; all contained <i>columellae</i> , one female; external <i>loculi</i> correspond to internal <i>loculi</i> found in wall of vaulted chamber; <i>loculi</i> connected by libation tubes; tomb chamber entrance at rear blocked by large lava block.	
<i>Decoration</i>	Drafted stuccowork; pilasters.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
50 BC–AD 3	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> AD 3: <i>dipinti</i> content	

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* including electoral notices and greetings (*CIL* IV 3861–3864, 3881).

Bibliography

Sogliano (1887: 453–454); Mau (1888: 127–130); Mau (1908: 451–452).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc66	Fondo Pacifico 4	Lucius Caesius Logus
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.60; depth: 2.60; extant height: 3.25	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa (?)	
<i>Form</i>	Pedestal in shape of flat arch from photo would guess lava <i>opus incertum</i> covered with white painted plaster; superstructure of <i>aedicula</i> with four columns; small niche with portico; four tufa statues; five <i>columellae</i> excavated in area; three with inscriptions. Cinerary urns with Augustan and Tiberian coins.	

Decoration Corinthian capitals; three male, one female tufa statues.

Inscription(s)

Reference EE 8.321, *non vidi*

Location *Columella*

Text *L(ucio) / Caesio L(uci) l(ibertus) / Logo.*
[To Lucius Caesius Logus, freedman of Lucius.]

Reference EE 8.328, *non vidi*

Location *Columella*

Text *Tit(ia) (mulieris) l(iberta) Vesbina.*
[Titia Vesbina, freedwoman of a woman.]

Reference EE 8.329, *non vidi*

Location *Columella*

Text *Titia (mulieris) l(iberta) Optata.*
[Titia Optata, freedwoman of a woman.]

Date **Basis of Date**

AD 37–79 *Terminus post quem* Tiberian coins

Comments

Graffiti and *dipinti* that advertise games and promote political campaigns (*CIL* IV 3865–3870).

Bibliography

Sogliano 1887: 34; Mau 1888: 130–132; Mau 1908: 451–452; Richardson 1988: 251.

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc67	Fondo Pacifico 5	Publius Mancius Diogenes
Type	Arch	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 3.25; depth: 1.40; extant height: 3.15.	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Unknown	
Form	Arch with deep barrel vault; cornice and superstructure of three niches for statuary; central niche larger than other two; two statues found in excavation; four <i>columellae</i> .	
Decoration	Two travertine statues of women.	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	EE 8.326, <i>non vidi</i>	
Location	Marble tablet	

(Continued)

Text	<i>P(ublio) Manci[o] P(ubli) l(iberto) Diogeni / ex testamento arbitrato / Manciae P(ubli) l(ibertae) Dorinis.</i> [To Publius Mancius Diogenes, freedman of Publius, by testament under the direction of Mancia Doris, freedwoman of Publius.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 14–68	Construction (?)

Comments**Bibliography**

Sogliano (1887: 455); Mau (1888: 132–134); Mau (1908: 452–453); Richardson (1988: 251).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc68	Fondo Pacifico 6	Unknown
Type	<i>Tholos</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 4.75; depth: 2.60; Extant height: 3.45	
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a	
Materials	Travertine, limestone, tufa, brick (?)	
Form	Large square pedestal with travertine footing; pedestal covered with white stucco; four engaged columns possibly of brick; central door in façade with limestone threshold, posts and lintel; leads to stairs to upper level; superstructure does not remain but additional architectural remains suggests similar to PE5.	
Decoration	Doric fluting on engaged columns; five tufa Corinthian capitals; three limestone statues: one man holding a papyrus roll in one hand with a <i>scrinium</i> (manuscript case) at his feet	
Inscription(s)		
Reference	n/a	
Location	n/a	
Text	n/a	
Date	Basis of Date	
AD 14–37	Similarity to PE5 (?)	

Comments

Covered with *dipinti* (CIL IV 3873–3879).

Bibliography

Sogliano (1887: 456–458); Mau (1888: 134–135); Mau (1908: 453–454);
Richardson (1988: 253).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc69	Fondo Pacifico 2	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Aedicula</i> (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.40; depth: 2.55; extant height: 3.25	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Little remains—niche with three-quarter columns at the corners; stucco doorposts, and ajar doors; Mau believed to have been <i>aedicula</i> . Two marble <i>columellae</i> marking burials in niche; one urn had Tiberian coin dated to AD 10; two inscribed <i>columellae</i> in front of structure.	
<i>Decoration</i>	Doric fluting and capitals; stucco doors.	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	EE 8.324	
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Festae Apulei f(iliae). / Vix(it) ann(os) XVII.</i> [To Festa, daughter of Apuleius. She lived seventeen years.]	
<i>Reference</i>	EE 8.332	
<i>Location</i>	<i>Columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	<i>[C]onviva Veiaes vix(it) an(nos) XX.</i> [Conviva, slave of Veia lived twenty years.]	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
AD 11–79	<i>Terminus post quem</i> AD 10 coin	

*Comments**Bibliography*

Sogliano (1886: 335); Mau (1888 : 123–127); Mau (1908: 433–434); Richardson (1988: 251); Franklin (2004: 23–24).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc70	Fondo Pacifico 1	Unknown

(Continued)

Type	Tholos
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 3.10; depth: 3.05; extant height: 3.10
Enclosure Dimensions	n/a
Materials	Unknown
Form	Pedestal in form of arch of <i>opus incertum</i> covered with white stucco; pilasters at corners; superstructure of low drum with truncated cone. One cinerary urn found in opening in floor under arch.
Decoration	Finial pine cone
Inscription(s)	
Reference	EE 8.320, <i>non vidi</i>
Location	Columella
Text	Alfiae N(umeri) l(ibertae) / Servillae. [Alfia Servilla, freedwoman of Numerius.]
Date	Basis of Date
AD 14–68	Unknown

Comments
CIL IV 3857–3860 Some *graffiti* and *dipinti*.



Figure A1.46 PNc71, PNc72, and PNc73

Bibliography

Sogliano (1886: 337); Mau (1888: 121–123); Mau (1908: 431); Richardson (1988: 251).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc71	H Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>		Unknown
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>		Unknown
<i>Materials</i>		
<i>Form</i>	Description: This is a small area that was not able to be fully excavated due to the limitations imposed by modern construction at the borders of the site. It is demarcated on the west by remnants of an enclosure wall and contains two male <i>columellae</i> made of lava, neither of which is inscribed (Figure A1.46).	
<i>Decoration</i>		
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>	n/a	
<i>Location</i>	n/a	
<i>Text</i>	n/a	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
unknown		
<i>Comments</i>		

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 226).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc72	G Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Arch with enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.58; depth: 0.78; extant height: 1.50	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	Undefined area	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone, Nocera tufa	

(Continued)

<i>Form</i>	Arch with core of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with quoining of Sarnese limestone and Nocera tufa; remains of painted plaster. Behind arch runs continuous line of twenty <i>columellae</i> of marble, tufa, limestone; five inscribed; of uninscribed five female (Figure A1.46).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 186a, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>P(ublio) Cluvio Attico / mag(istro) pag(i) subur(bani).</i> [To Publius Cluvius Atticus, magister of the pagus suburbanus.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 186b, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Luna <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Calidia / Propolis.</i> [Calidia Propolis.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 186c, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Luna <i>columella</i> (female)
<i>Text</i>	<i>Calidia / Aucta.</i> [Calidia Aucta.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 186e, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Luna <i>columella</i> (female)
<i>Text</i>	<i>Calidia / Soteris.</i> [Calidia Soteris.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 186d, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arcus) Decidius M(arci) f(ilius) / Macer v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII.</i> [Marcus Decidius Macer, son of Marcus, lived eight years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–79	Uncertain date; possibly <i>terminus post quem</i> Augustan if paganus is <i>Augustus Felix suburbanus</i>

Comments

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 223–226).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc73	F Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	3.60 by 4.16	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Luna marble	
<i>Form</i>	Small area contains seven <i>columellae</i> , six made of lava. The seventh, of Luna marble, was inscribed with initials. A tube for libations was found in association with inscribed <i>columella</i> (Figure A1.46–47).	
<i>Decoration</i>		
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		
<i>Reference</i>		
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>	
<i>Text</i>	A.S.I.A.	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>	
unknown		

*Comments**Bibliography*

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 222–223).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc74	E Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Arch with enclosure	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Width: 3.66; depth: 0.84; extant height: 2.06	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	3.08 by 3.80	
<i>Materials</i>	Lava, Sarnese limestone, Luna marble	
<i>Form</i>	Enclosure built of low walls of lava and limestone <i>opus incertum</i> behind arch built into retaining wall of terraced area; core of lava <i>opus incertum</i> faced with blocks of Sarnese limestone; nine <i>columellae</i> , one marble, eight lava, one of which is female; some <i>in situ</i> above libation tubes. Fragments of marble decorative elements found during excavation of unclear attribution (Figure A1.47).	

(Continued)



Figure A1.47 PNc73, PNc74, and PNc75

<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 185, <i>non vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Valentinus / v(ixit) a(nnis) V.</i> [Valentinus lived five years.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
50–1 BC	Use of Sarnese limestone; construction

Comments

Bibliography

D’Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 220–222).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc75	D Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	4.76 by 4.34
<i>Materials</i>	Limestone, Nocera tufa
<i>Form</i>	Area contains ten <i>columellae</i> , only two of which are inscribed. Six stones of lava or tufa, and only one is discernibly female. Libation tubes were also found in the area, as were a number of vials for perfume, some of glass (Figure A1.47–48).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 184a
<i>Location</i>	Limestone <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Secun- / dus.</i> [Secundus.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 184b
<i>Location</i>	Nocera tufa <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>C(aius) Auficius / Clemens.</i> [Gaius Auficius Clemens.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
late Republican—early Augustan	Construction; similarity to PNc6.

Comments

The area shows evidence it was disturbed in antiquity, presumably by the earthquake of AD 62.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 219–220).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNc76	C Sud	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	3.14 by 4.34	
<i>Materials</i>	lava, tufa	
<i>Form</i>	Area contains three <i>columellae</i> : one lava, one yellow tufa, and one female of lava. Part of retaining wall on north has projecting stones like a ladder similar to PNc31 (Figure A1.48).	
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a	

(Continued)



Figure A1.48 PNC75, PNC76, and PNC77

Inscription(s)

<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
unknown	

Comments

Glass perfume vials were also found in the area.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 218–219).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PNC77	A & B Sud	The Calventii
<i>Type</i>	Burial area	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	3.40 by 4.34	
<i>Materials</i>	Luna marble, white marble, breccia	

<i>Form</i>	<i>Columellae</i> laid out in the shape of Π (Figure A1.48).
<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 182a
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Nonius / Celer vixit / annum et me(n)- / ses quator (!).</i> [Lucius Nonius Celer lived one year and four months.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 182b
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>A(ulus) Statius / Moschus.</i> [Aulus Statius Moschus.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183a
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Mercurialis / vixit annis XI.</i> [Mercurialis lived eleven years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183c
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Sex(to) Numisio / Aucto. / Calventia Cloe / patri.</i> ⁶⁴ [To Sextus Numisius Auctus. Calventia C(h)loe, for the father.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183d = AE 1992: 273a
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Calventius / Amplius / v(ixit) a(nnis) VI.</i> [Lucius Calventius Amplius lived six years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183f
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucio) Calventio / Staphylo.</i> [To Lucius Calventius Staphylo.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183e
<i>Location</i>	Luna marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>L(ucius) Calventius / Cytherus vix(it) annis XX.</i> [Lucius Calventius Cytherus lived twenty years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 182c
<i>Location</i>	White marble <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Hygia / vix(it) an(nis) XVI.</i> [Hygia lived sixteen years.]
<i>Reference</i>	AE 1990: 183b
<i>Location</i>	Breccia female <i>columella</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Calventia / Primilla.</i> [Calventia Primilla.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>

(Continued)

Flavian

Electoral *dipinto* in which Calventia Primilla supports the election of her kinsman, Gaius Calventius Sittius Magnus (CIL IV 7230)

Comments

Area contains twenty-three *columellae*. North-west corner of the area contained a high concentration of charred remains including wood, animal bones, and shell fragments, leading the excavators to conclude it was in part used as an *ustrinum*.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 215–218); Saldías (2008); Campbell 2015.

PORTA DI STABIA

The number of tombs and their physical layout in the area beyond the Porta di Stabia are somewhat difficult to comprehend fully because of piecemeal attempts at excavation that have taken place over more than a century and that have always been restricted to some extent by modern construction (Figure A1.49). Excavations at the end of the nineteenth century revealed two large *scholae* which have since remained visible. There are reports that indicate there are other tombs in the area, including a third *schola*, that remain buried beneath the debris of Vesuvius and the modern town. Prior to this, however, in 1843, the existence of tombs farther to the south of the immediate area of Porta di Stabia was confirmed when a tomb in the form of a rectangular bench was discovered. It bore a marble relief depicting gladiators, and contained an inscription dedicating it to Gnaeus Clovatus (Stefani 1998:

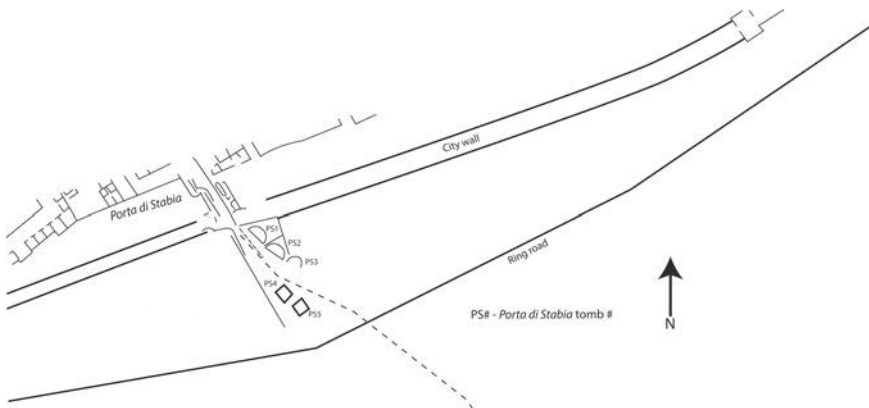


Figure A1.49 Plan of necropolis at Porta di Stabia

33–34; *CIL* IV 1442; X 1065; Appendix 3). More recently, in the summer of 2000, preliminary work to explore the possibility of adding a new entrance to the excavation site led to the discovery of two additional tombs located approximately sixty metres from the city gate (D’Ambrosio 2001–2002; 2003). Further excavation has not taken place since then and frankly seems unlikely because modern houses loom above these tombs to the south and east. The area seems to have fallen into disuse in the last phase of Pompeii as both of the *scholae* adjacent to the city wall were buried in debris from the earthquake in AD 62 (Richardson 1988: 255; Stefani 1998: 33).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PS1	n/a	Marcus Tullius
Type	<i>Schola</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 6.40; depth: 3.40; extant height of bench: 0.88; height of substructure/pavement: 0.40	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) unknown; ⁶⁵ (s) 7.70 (shared with PS2); (e) 7.45; (w) 2.53 + 0.94; height: 1.28	
Materials	Lava and tufa	



Figure A1.50 PS1

(Continued)

Form	Constructed primarily of lava <i>opus incertum</i> walls that form an enclosure and support for the rear of the seating area with large tufa slabs forming the pavement and the bench. The wall runs south from the city wall for 2.53 metres, behind the bench, and then continues for a further 0.94 metres on the far side of the bench before turning east to form the back of the enclosed area. As part of the supporting structure of the bench, the wall, with a maximum thickness of approximately 0.38 metres, includes as part of a single phase of construction a large rectangular base (measuring 1.43 by 0.98 metres; total height not accessible to measure) at the midpoint of the bench which presumably once supported a statue or column, possibly with a further inscription, similar to PE2 or PV3 (Figure A1.50).
Decoration	Terminates in lion's paws; no further adornment
Inscription(s)	
Reference	EE 8.330; <i>vidi</i>
Location	Lava <i>cippus</i> , one of two <i>cippi</i> attested in the original excavation reports is still <i>in situ</i> , embedded in the bottom of the enclosure wall to the north of the bench itself Figure A1. Only the first line of the inscription is visible above the ground level.
Text	<i>M(arco) Tullio / M(arci) f(ilio) / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i> [To Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, by decree of the decurions.]
Date	Basis of Date
27 BC–AD 2	Held Augustan office of <i>tribunus militum a populo</i> , built Temple of Fortuna Augusta (<i>CIL</i> X 820 = <i>ILS</i> 5398; <i>CIL</i> X 822), <i>terminus ante quem</i> of temple construction AD 3/4 when first dedication of <i>Ministri Fortunae Augustae</i> is recorded (<i>CIL</i> X 824)

Comments

Like many of the other *scholae*, the enclosed area was planted by Spano in the early twentieth century to replicate the garden he believed it once was.

Bibliography

Mau (1890: 277–284); Sogliano (1890: 329–330); Spano (1910c: 567–568); Jashemski (1970–1971: 103); Richardson (1988: 255); Stefani (1998: 33); Emmerson (2010).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PS2	n/a	Marcus Alleius Minius
Type	<i>Schola</i>	
Tomb Dimensions	Width: 6.92; depth: 3.39; extant height: 0.70.	
Enclosure Dimensions	(n) 7.70 (shared with PS1); (s) n/a; (e) 7.65; (w) 1.78	
Materials	Lava and tufa	
Form	Constructed of lava <i>opus incertum</i> with tufa slabs forming bench and back rest. The lava wall, approximately 0.32 metres thick, like PS1, in part forms a support for the back of the bench. There are no visible traces of a raised pavement, making the bench seem lower than its neighbour. The final section of the bench with terminal lion paw on the south side is missing, but as the first section to the north contained no lettering, it seems the inscription is complete. If the final section is the same size as the initial section opposite, it would add an additional 1.72 metres to the overall length. The inscription is	



Figure A1.51 PS2

(Continued)

carved in large letters (0.23 metres) into the back of the bench. There is one piece of painted white plaster (measuring 0.09 by 0.31 metres) remaining on the supporting wall on the exterior (north side) of the north end of the bench, which leads me to conclude the entire wall was covered (Figure A1.51).

<i>Decoration</i>	terminates in lion's paws; no further adornment
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	EE 8.318 = AE 1891: 166; <i>vidi</i>
<i>Location</i>	Inscribed in back of bench
<i>Text</i>	<i>M(arco) Alleio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) Minio II v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) locus sepulturae publice datus ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).</i> [To Marcus Alleius Minius, son of Quintus, member of the Menenian tribe, duovir with judicial powers, the place for burial was given publicly by decree of the decurions.]
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
27 BC–AD 14	Construction type and materials, similarity of form to other <i>scholae</i> of same date

Comments

The enclosure is roughly triangular, consisting of only three walls and the bench itself appears to sit at a different angle to PS1, which may simply be a result of the odd shape of the enclosure.

Bibliography

Mau (1890: 277–284); Sogliano (1890: 330); Spano (1910c: 567–568); Jashemski (1970–1971: 103); Richardson (1988: 255); Sertā (1996); Stefani (1998: 33); Emmerson (2010).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PS3	n/a	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	<i>Schola</i>	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	Unknown	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Unknown	
<i>Form</i>	Curved bench presumably similar to PE2, PE4, PV3, PN2, PN3, PS1, and PS2.	
<i>Decoration</i>	Unknown	
<i>Inscription(s)</i>		

Reference	n/a
Location	n/a
Text	n/a
Date	Basis of Date
Unknown	

Comments

Tomb was identified as a *schola* but was unable to be fully excavated due to location under modern house.

Bibliography

Mau (1890: 278); Emmerson (2010).

Tomb Number	Concordance	Primary Occupant
PS4	n/a	Unknown
Type	Altar (?)	

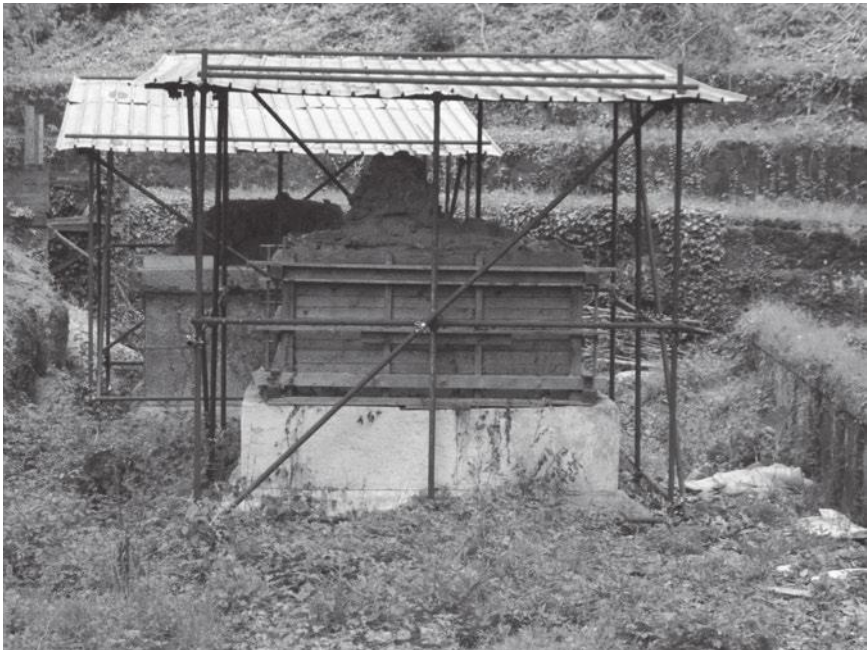


Figure A1.52 PS4 and PS5

(Continued)

<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 2.95; (s) 2.90; (e) 3.42; (w) 3.38; height of podium 0.98
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a
<i>Materials</i>	Limestone, lava
<i>Form</i>	Nearly square podium base constructed of a single course of large limestone blocks (0.71 metres in height) on top of a moulded base with lava superstructure that bears some resemblance to the stepped format of an altar tomb but was found to be heavily damaged on excavation. Vaulted chamber with two small stone benches at base of walls that contain niches with cinerary urns (Figure A1.52).
<i>Decoration</i>	Traces of simple painted decoration on stucco on vault
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–79	Construction type (the stepped nature of the superstructure suggests an altar tomb of the mid to late first century particularly, cf. PE7, PE8, PE11, PE12 and PNc1); finds associated with PS4.

Comments

The superstructure of the tomb was so badly damaged that it has been boxed into a wooden frame and is covered with scaffolding. The tomb chamber is not accessible as a result.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio (2001–2002; 2003); Emmerson (2010).

<i>Tomb Number</i>	<i>Concordance</i>	<i>Primary Occupant</i>
PS5	n/a	Unknown
<i>Type</i>	Altar (?)	
<i>Tomb Dimensions</i>	(n) 3.0; (s) 2.92; (e) 3.17; (w) 3.26; height of podium: 1.62	
<i>Enclosure Dimensions</i>	n/a	
<i>Materials</i>	Limestone, tufa, travertine, cocciopesto	
<i>Form</i>	Podium consisting of a substructure (0.18 metres), a moulded base (0.35 metres) and two courses of large blocks (1.25 metres) finished with a projecting course of stone blocks (0.28 metres) all of limestone. Travertine facing (0.16 metres)	

still *in situ* on north and east sides; evidence of two steps and part of core of tufa on south side suggest an altar superstructure. Interior of tomb visible: single room with vaulted ceiling, *cocciopesto* floor and some traces of white painted stucco. Three of the walls contain two rectangular niches each, all but one of which held glass cinerary urns that contained bits of burned bone. The door, a single block of limestone measuring 1.68 by 0.85 metres, with a well-preserved bronze lock, is in the fourth wall. One clay lamp and seven glass ointment jars were also recovered (Figure A1.52).

<i>Decoration</i>	n/a
<i>Inscription(s)</i>	
<i>Reference</i>	n/a
<i>Location</i>	n/a
<i>Text</i>	n/a
<i>Date</i>	<i>Basis of Date</i>
AD 1–79	Glass vessels found in tomb dated to first century stylistically; construction (the stepped nature of the superstructure suggests an altar tomb of the mid to late first century particularly; cf. PE7, PE8, PE11, PE12, and PNc1).

Comments

Dipinto painted on the door of the tomb.

Bibliography

D'Ambrosio (2001–2002; 2003); Emmerson (2010).

NOTES

1. The office of *tribunus militum a populo* appears in the epigraphic record of Italian towns outside of Rome during the Augustan period only. The office is thought to be honorary, not including actual military service, but an appointment of prominent citizens made by Augustus on the recommendation of local assemblies, promoting men to the equestrian order (Suet. *Aug.* 46; Nicolet 1967; Castrén 1975, 1983: 98–99; D'Arms 1988: 56–57; Franklin 2001: 18; Rowe 2002: 105–106).
2. It is not clear if the name is actually given in the genitive, it might be the nominative with—us dropped as frequently seen in Republican inscriptions. The text itself does not give any indication as to the case intended here, and comparison

to other Pompeian *cippi* is inconclusive: **PNC16** poses the same difficulties, and **PS1** gives the name of the deceased in the dative.

3. Mommsen (*CIL* X p. 118) supports an idea that he is a freedman of the *colonia Veneria*.
4. The reading, apart from the family name, is highly dubious but cannot be verified as the inscription is lost. Castrén's (1975, 1983: 178) suggestion of 'Chryseros' is appealing but conflicts with the expected declension.
5. Specifically listed by Kockel (1983: 61) as peperino, a type of tufa that contains fragments of limestone, this is an incredibly large example of the anthropomorphic stele that reaches nearly two metres in height.
6. The text is completely meaningless, and must have been misread.
7. The transmission of the inscription is dubious. Mommsen's text involved no personal autopsy. It is likely that the last line of the inscription was damaged therefore rendering the second 'e' of Menoecus incomplete (it seems that this letter was written in its cursive shape of Π) and the 's' has erroneously been attributed to the second line. Castrén (1975, 1983: 178) also reads the final line as Menoecus. Kockel (1983: 201) also lists this individual as Numerius Istacidius Menoecus in his index. For a second case, also involving an Istacidius, see note 26 to this appendix.
8. Kockel (1983: 60) readily assumes that this is in the nominative but the inscription gives no indication of the case whatsoever and there is no consistency within the epigraphy of this tomb (if the inscription was actually found here).
9. The last line might represent numbers but is meaningless as it is read.
10. The Greek name Iole is attested in Rome as the name of slaves and freedwomen since the Augustan period and the form could be the dative. For attestations of the name in Rome, see Solin (2003: I 596). One therefore might be tempted to resolve this inscription as suggested earlier, particularly due to the abundance of Greek names that appear in other inscriptions associated with this tomb.
11. Following Kockel (1983: 61), a plausible suggestion in consideration of the other attestations of the same family in the immediate vicinity of this monument.
12. Only the top of the *columella* is still visible *in situ*, the inscription itself is buried beneath the current ground level.
13. Mau (1908: 418) and Cooley and Cooley (2004: 141) believe this dedication is to a slave of Livia. Iuno was the female equivalent of dedications made to a man's genius, first attested in the time of Augustus when dedications were made to the *iuno* of Livia that are dated between AD 4–14 (*CIL* XI 3976 = *ILS* 116; Rives 1992: 34, 37). Iuno was also, by the time of Augustus, goddess of women in their role as wife and mother and appeared often in conjunction with Venus and Fortuna (Rives 1992: 44–45). It was also common practice, especially amongst slaves and freedmen, to make dedications to their mistress or patroness (Rives 1992: 47). This particular *columella* is dated to the Tiberian period by Varone (1989: 20) which coincides with the dating of the tomb. How this woman is related to either the empress Livia or to Aulus Umbricius Scaurus is, however, unclear.
14. If *CIL* X 1025 is correctly attributed to this tomb, the surviving fragments measure approximately 0.86 wide, the altar itself being 1.67. Based on similarity to other altar tombs, the superstructure would have been more than a metre high, thus suggesting that less than a quarter of the inscription remains.
15. Kockel and others have suggested that this is an *i*. However, Mommsen and inspection of the photo show that it is a vertical line that could potentially be the initial mark of any straight letter.

16. In the *CIL* entry, Mommsen reconstructs 'Q' which cannot be understood due to the fragmentary state of the inscription. It might have been [- — -] q(uod). Kockel (1983: 76) states that he was not able to see this letter; however, his photo in Tafel 19a clearly shows the trace of the *cauda* of this letter.
17. It seems likely that this refers to the ornaments of an unknown office bestowed on the subject of the inscription. *Ornamenta* would have been qualified by *duumviralia*, but it is unclear if this would have preceded or followed *ornamenta*. Cf. Kockel (1983: 83–84), although he applies this award to the wrong individual.
18. Mention of the phrase '*et munificentiam eius*' is only attested in the Latin inscriptions in combination with preceding preposition *ob* and mention of another virtue or merit; cf. AE 1987: 1072 = 1992: 1833 (Thamugadi; *merita in civis patriamque*); *CIL* V 7008 (Turin; *merita*); *CIL* VIII 5368 (Guelma; *merita*); *CIL* VIII 18912 (Thibilis; *insignem*); *CIL* XI 3808 (Veii; *pietatem*); *CIL* XI 4579 (Carsulae; *plurima beneficia*). All of these attestations have a common element in that they record a decree of the decurions or similar. This must imply that the same is true for the Pompeian example.
19. The photo of Tafel 19a in Kockel (1983) shows a horizontal line extending to the right underneath the top horizontal line of the letter *T*. The shape of this line seems to suggest that this is damage to the surface but this cannot be established with any certainty without autopsy. If the line is not accidental, one would have to assume that this means '*et filio*'. Mention of the *pater* makes mention of the *filius* in a subsequent passage probable, regardless of whether this is included in the *et*.
20. Inspection of Kockel's (1983) Tafel 19a seems to suggest that traces of the preceding letter, *u*, might still be visible, however this cannot be proven without autopsy.
21. *TPSulp* 90–92 likely refers to this same Marcia Aucta, who, it is recorded, has sold a slave woman named Fortunata in order to cover a debt in AD 61.
22. Use of *consesu* instead of *consensu* a vulgar form discussed by Väänänen (1966: 68).
23. This addendum claims that *CIL* X 1491* was forged using this one as a model. It should, however, read 1490*, an inscription which is reported for Herculaneum.
24. The stone has *IIDES* as the last word of the inscription which Kockel (1983: 98) 'corrects' to *pe des*. It is, however, entirely possible that the *II* represents the cursive form of the letter *e*, in which case only the *p* would have been omitted. For a second case, also involving an Istacidius, see note 8 to this appendix.
25. In the second line the final *o* is in the margin, which stands out as rather clumsy as the rest of inscription is executed well.
26. Provenance of inscription uncertain; also attributed to **PE18**.
27. **PE15** through **PE20** are linked topographically, on top of a plateau high above street level accessed by a set of stairs near **PE20**. The excavation history is also linked and generally unknown and badly documented; it is difficult to ascribe individual findings to specific monuments as a result.
28. Mommsen thinks this is an accidental find that actually belongs to the third century AD as dated by font style, but because it has been lost, this cannot be verified.
29. Mommsen gives an alternative reading of *A* in *CIL* X.
30. There has been much debate about the location of this suburban district, which is named both for Sulla (Felix) and Augustus. It was originally believed

to be located beyond the Porta di Ercolano because of such inscriptions as this, but the excavation of Porta di Nocera subsequently revealed that the *pagus* was recorded there as well. Presently, there is an argument that this suburban area surrounds Pompeii and that the initial use of only Sulla's name could indicate this was where many of colonists were settled (De Caro 1977; Santangelo 2007: 166).

31. The syntax of this inscription is verging on the absurd, not only does the dedicant not make note that this is for his daughter, but the term '*sibi suis*' is not connected to either named party and is lacking the usual connector of *et*.
32. Provenance of inscription uncertain; also attributed to PE13.
33. The tablet has remains of stucco on the edges, indicating that it was inserted into plaster that was used to create a frame for the tablet. The inscription itself is not centred, but clearly structured in two paragraphs with the initial line of each paragraph projecting far to the left. (Panciera 1995: 333).
34. The position of the word *iterum* prior to *duovir* is slightly awkward as it usually follows the office to which it refers.
35. Kockel (1983: 177) says the material and measurements of this *columella* are unknown but Mau (*CIL* X p. 967) reports it is made of travertine.
36. As with the previous gravestone, Kockel (1983: 177) lists the material as unknown despite being identified as marble by Mau in *CIL* X (p. 967).
37. Kockel (1983) and Eschebach (1993) mistakenly reverse the identification of PE21 and PE22; the tombs are clearly marked with small numbered plaques but are mislabelled in these publications.
38. The same text appears on two sides of the monument, although the line divisions are different. *CIL* has recorded the epitaph as one inscription with the variations of line breaks indicated. For the sake of clarity, I have separated them into two entries. In addition, the *CIL* records the material as travertine, and Kockel (1983: 166) as marble; on closer inspection, it becomes apparent that each inscription is in a different stone.
39. Known as tomb of Blue Glass Vase for its famous artefact.
40. Commonly referred to as the Tomb of the Garlands for the floral decoration on the sides of the monument.
41. Within the text '*huic*' does not clearly refer to Arellia Tertulla or Veius Fronto.
42. As is noted by D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), this inscription is a bit odd because it includes information regarding the status of the former owner in an unusual way.
43. All three of the individuals named in this inscription are introduced by *et*, as is common in texts of sub-literary quality. The poor quality of the inscription is also to be seen by its ordination, particularly evident in the word '*patro*' with a *nexus litterarum* and unfortunate line division between *patr* and *o* which in itself constitutes a vulgarism. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 22EN) refer to this as '*O parassita*' when it is in fact simply a morphologically incorrect ending.
44. The Latin text is my interpretation of the drawing published in D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983).
45. The inscription contains syllabic punctuation in the word *suburbanus* in lines 2 and 5.
46. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15 ES) expand the final *l* as *liberis* which indicates children. This interpretation is based on the *columellae* for the children, both of whom died at a very young age. The abbreviation of *liberis* is not intuitive but can be paralleled with, for example, *CIL* VI 28757. An ancient reader would presumably have understood *libertis* without being aware of the context provided by the *columellae*.

47. This and the following three *columellae* are mentioned in the excavation journals but were subsequently lost. Only their inscriptions were recorded.
48. This transcription of the text corrects some errors of D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) in terms of line division and interpretation.
49. The text is unambiguous as the photo in D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 11ES) clearly shows the name as given earlier. Their speculations in regard to the text are baseless.
50. Underneath this *columella* a brick with the name 'Munatia' was also found.
51. Cf. J. Adams (2003) 479–483 on the genitive ending of—*aes* in slave names.
52. Cf. *CIL* X 1074a (p. 967, 1006) = *ILS* 5053.
53. This *columella* is reused, with traces of the previous inscription still visible. The extant text, on the reverse perpendicular to that of Clodia Nigella, is: [*Loco dat*]o ex d(e)creto d(e)curionum).
54. 'Flavio' is in the dative and 'Philoxeni' is a genitive, but it is likely that the latter is a mistake and should read 'Philoxeno.'
55. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) indicate that *vixit* in line three is abbreviated. Inspection of the photograph of the *columella* however shows this is not the case.
56. The photograph of the inscription provided by D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) shows the inscription to be broken, with all text following 'pagani' missing. Where they found the remainder of the text is unclear.
57. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983: 15OS) state the dimensions are 1.23 by 4.44 but do not explain how they arrive at this measurement which conflicts with the area given in the inscription.
58. The use of *intro* instead of *in agro* is unusual, with few occurrences. See *CIL* XI 1260; *CIL* P 3009 = *AE* (1969/70) 26; *CIL* V 1345; *AE* (1998) 587; *AE* (1992) 724; *CIL* V 2025; *CIL* V 3080; *CIL* V 3858.
59. The inscription gives the abbreviation *pag* twice which has led D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) to resolve the abbreviations as given earlier. The more accurate title of this magistracy can be found in *CIL* X 1042 = *ILS* 6381.
60. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) believe this man's *praenomen* was probably Lucius; however, Cooley and Cooley (2004: 155) conclude the *praenomen* of this individual is likely to be Gaius. Neither is conclusive as they all are simply conjecturing based on the names of other family members listed in the same inscription. D'Ambrosio and De Caro are slightly more plausible as this man's brother was already called Gaius.
61. His name is inverted, placing emphasis on his Greek heritage. Neither individual has provided filiation, nor has Nicostratus provided his *praenomen*, thereby eliminating any reference to their previous owner or patron other than the family name of Popidius.
62. There is a grammatical oddity in this text as the name of the deceased is in the dative whilst the term *pater* is in the nominative.
63. D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: 214) expand the abbreviations in the last line as *liberti* and *libertae*, but this phrase in the nominative is unparalleled without a verb expressing building activity, and it is unlikely that anonymous freedmen and women were involved in building this structure.
64. *AE* 1990: 183c erroneously omits 'Sextus' from the beginning of the inscription. See D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1987: Taf. 36c).
65. The north side of the enclosure is not a part of the tomb's construction but makes use of the city wall. Attempts to measure this section of the enclosure (which is visibly longer than the south side because of the angle at which the tomb is positioned) were thwarted by difficult terrain and a fear of becoming stuck in the enclosure.

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Appendix 2

Boundary Markers in Pompeian Necropoleis

Tomb	
PE3 Marcus Porcius	
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	MP1
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	Squared top, smooth sides and front with inscription recording dimensions of plot as 25 RF square
Dimensions	Height: 0.90 Width: 0.37 Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	SW edge of <i>cippi</i> 0.83 from NW corner of tomb; approx. 0.90 in front of façade
Length of Boundary	
Total	2nd <i>cippus</i> obscured by PE2; cannot be determined
Relative Tomb Face	unknown
Relative Tomb Face	5.95
Comments	
25 RF = 7.4 metres	
Tomb	
PE4 Mammia	
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	MM1
Location	NE corner of tomb
Shape	Cylinder
Dimensions	Height: 1.30 Diameter: 0.28
Relationship to Tomb	0.24 inside NE corner of pediment; approx. 0.05 in front of tomb

(Continued)

Description of *Cippi*

ID	MM2
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	Cylinder
Dimensions	Height: 1.38 Diameter: 0.32
Relationship to Tomb	In front of retaining wall of PE5 ; 0.12 from NW corner of bench; approx. 0.08 in front of tomb

Length of Boundary

Total	6.18
Relative Tomb Face	6.60

Comments

Cippi made of white-grey marble.

Tomb**PE24 Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus****Description of *Cippi***

ID	LCP1
Location	West side of SW corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.63 Width: 0.42 Depth: 0.23
Relationship to Tomb	0.16 from SW corner; 1.93 to door of tomb chamber

Description of *Cippi*

ID	LCP2
Location	West side of NW corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.61 Width: 0.33 Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	0.16 from SW corner; 1.92 to door of tomb chamber

Description of *Cippi*

ID	LCP3
Location	North side of NW corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.78 Width: 0.46 Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	0.05 from NW corner of tomb

Description of *Cippi*

ID	LCP4
Location	Middle north side of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face

Dimensions	Height: 0.54 Width: 0.44 Depth: 0.27
Relationship to Tomb	Approx. midpoint of north tomb face
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	LCP5
Location	North side of NE corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.45 Width: 0.43 Depth: 0.32
Relationship to Tomb	0.08 from NE corner of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	LCP6
Location	East side of NE corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.40 Width: 0.41 Depth: 0.24
Relationship to Tomb	0.14 from NE corner of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	LCP7
Location	2nd from NE corner
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.34 Width: 0.42 Depth: 0.26
Relationship to Tomb	Quarter way along east tomb face
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	LCP8
Location	3rd from NE corner
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.23 Width: 0.40 Depth: 0.25
Relationship to Tomb	Quarter way along east tomb face
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	LCP9
Location	East side of SE corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.40 Width: 0.40 Depth: 0.28
Relationship to Tomb	0.11 from SE corner of tomb

(Continued)

Description of *Cippi*

ID	LCP10
Location	South side of SE corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.46 Width: 0.42 Depth: 0.28
Relationship to Tomb	0.06 from SE corner of tomb

Description of *Cippi*

ID	LCP11
Location	South side of SW corner of tomb
Shape	Tapered and rounded at top; smooth outer face
Dimensions	Height: 0.62 Width: 0.42 Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	0.07 from SW corner of tomb

Length of Boundary

LCP1–LCP2	4.94
Total	5.72
Relative Tomb Face	5.90
LCP3–LCP4	2.31
LCP4–LCP5	2.14
Total	5.92
Relative Tomb Face	6.0
LCP6–LCP7	1.37
LCP7–LCP8	1.29
LCP8–LCP9	1.40
Total	5.72
Relative Tomb Face	5.95
LCP10–LCP11	4.94
Total	5.80
Relative Tomb Face	5.97

Comments

All *cippi* flush against the base of the tomb and more or less in line with corners of structure. Possible third *cippus* at midpoint of south tomb face, no longer *in situ* but lying on ground nearby; shape and dimensions similar to other stones (with consideration for portion below ground): Height: 0.80, Width: 0.43, Depth: 0.23.

Tomb

PE34 unknown**Description of *Cippi***

ID	PE34.1
Location	SE corner of tomb

Shape	Tear drop shape tapering significantly at top; smooth face on south side, towards street
Dimensions	Height: 0.47 Width: 0.13–0.38 Depth: 0.55
Relationship to Tomb	Approx. 2 metres from tomb façade; 0.25 east of corner
Length of Boundary	n/a
Total	n/a
Relative Tomb Face	5.64
Comments	Area confused by large number of architectural remains dumped in area of tomb; appears to be similar to <i>cippi</i> , associated with other tombs but status is questionable

Tomb

PV1 Marcus Veius Marcellus**Description of *Cippi***

ID	MVM1
Location	SW corner of tomb
Shape	Some attempt to smooth face; uneven triangular projection at rear; tapers to sharp point at apex
Dimensions	Height: 0.51 Width: 0.52 Depth: 0.12–0.30
Relationship to Tomb	Sits at corner of tomb in line with western edge of structure wall; rear of stone 0.65 from tomb façade

Description of *Cippi*

ID	MVM2
Location	Middle of south wall of tomb
Shape	Angular shape, some attempt to smooth face but facing more west than east towards road due to irregularity of stone
Dimensions	Height: 0.62 Width: 0.38 Depth: 0.42
Relationship to Tomb	0.68 from façade

Description of *Cippi*

ID	MVM3
Location	SE corner of tomb
Shape	Largest of three; face smooth on lower half but becomes more irregular towards the top
Dimensions	Height: 0.80 Width: 0.31 Depth: 0.41
Relationship to Tomb	0.67 from façade; 0.20 from SE corner

(Continued)

Description of *Cippi*

ID	MVM4
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	Fairly regular with smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.37 or Height: 0.60 Width: 0.60 Width: 0.37 Depth: 0.26 Depth: 0.26
Relationship to Tomb	Appears to have fallen over from original position; currently lays 0.23 from façade; 0.80 to NW corner

Length of Boundary

MVM1-MVM2	1.44
MVM2-MVM3	1.45
Total	4.13
Relative Tomb Face	4.27

Comments

MVM4 appears to be a *cippus* but as no other remains on north side of tomb,
difficult to determine with absolute certainty

Tomb

PV2 Gaius Vestorius Priscus**Description of *Cippi***

ID	CVP1
Location	SW corner of tomb
Shape	Large square block, smooth face pointing S towards gate
Dimensions	Height: 0.72 Width: 0.60 Depth: 0.46
Relationship to Tomb	0.50 to SW corner of tomb; in line with façade

Description of *Cippi*

ID	CVP2
Location	West side of tomb; second <i>cippus</i> from south
Shape	Pie shaped wedge narrowing at top; smooth face pointing SW towards PV1
Dimensions	Height: 0.64 Width: 0.40 Depth: 0.19–0.40
Relationship to Tomb	1.0 to W wall of tomb

Description of *Cippi*

ID	CVP3
Location	West side of tomb; 3rd <i>cippus</i> from south

Shape	Irregular attempt at square; top slopes to E; smooth face pointing SW towards PV1
Dimensions	Height: 0.57 Width: 0.31 Depth: 0.28–0.41
Relationship to Tomb	0.84 to W wall of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	CVP4
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	More angular in shape than others, sloping towards back; smooth face pointing SW towards PV1; nearly touches PV1 (only 0.12 from E façade)
Dimensions	Height: 0.62–0.67 Width: 0.42 Depth: 0.26–0.34
Relationship to Tomb	0.74 from façade; 0.20 in from SW corner
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	CVP5
Location	SW corner of tomb
Shape	Tall upright rectangle with somewhat smooth face pointing south
Dimensions	Height: 1.08 Width: 0.50 Depth: 0.19–0.32
Relationship to Tomb	0.70 from façade; 0.67 in from SW corner
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	CVP6
Location	Middle of S façade
Shape	Tall, upright rectangle with somewhat smooth face pointing south
Dimensions	Height: 0.81 Width: 0.32–0.47 Depth: 0.41
Relationship to Tomb	0.86 from façade
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	CVP7
Location	SE corner of tomb
Shape	Tall upright rectangle with somewhat smooth face pointing south; narrows at top
Dimensions	Height: 1.21 Width: 0.45–0.60 Depth: 0.28–0.36

(Continued)

Relationship to Tomb 0.85 from façade; 0.75 from SE corner

Length of Boundary

CVP1–CVP2 1.48

CVP2–CVP3 1.37

CVP3–CVP4 1.17

Total 5.46

Relative Tomb Face 5.34

CVP5–CVP6 1.03

CVP6–CVP7 1.37

Total 4.23

Relative Tomb Face 5.30

Comments

Cippi on west side create path for access to tomb chamber door at rear (north)

Tomb**PV3 Arellia Tertulla****Description of *Cippi***

ID AT1

Location SW corner of tomb

Shape Angular with slight narrowing at top

Dimensions Height: 0.72

Width: 0.35

Depth: 0.29

Relationship to Tomb 4.12 from SW corner of tomb near road

Description of *Cippi*

ID AT2

Location 2nd *cippus* from road, in front of **PV3**

Shape Narrow at base, rising to point at top; smooth on SE and SW faces

Dimensions Height: 0.54–0.64

Width: 0.27

Depth: 0.17–0.37

Relationship to Tomb 3.14 from base of tomb

Description of *Cippi*

ID AT3

Location 3rd *cippus* from road in front of **PV3**; in line with column

Shape Squared sides; rounded back; smooth but slightly concave face

Dimensions Height: 0.96

Width: 0.39

Depth: 0.35

Relationship to Tomb	3.06 from base of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	AT4
Location	4 th <i>cippus</i> from road in front of PV3
Shape	Rough on all sides; some attempt to smooth face on NE side
Dimensions	Height: 0.97 Width: 0.39 Depth: 0.21–0.30
Relationship to Tomb	3.22 from base of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	AT5
Location	5 th <i>cippus</i> from road in front of PV3
Shape	Square sides; rounded top; smooth front face
Dimensions	Height: 0.78 Width: 0.37 Depth: 0.18–0.35
Relationship to Tomb	3.17 from base of tomb; 0.87 north of NE corner of tomb
Length of Boundary	
AT1–AT2	4.10
AT2–AT3	1.10
AT3–AT4	3.08
AT4–AT5	1.33
Total	11.56
Relative Tomb Face	7.70

Comments**Tomb****PV4 Septumia****Description of *Cippi***

ID	S1
Location	6 th <i>cippus</i> from road in front of PV4
Shape	Square sides; rounded top; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.69 Width: 0.40 Depth: 0.24
Relationship to Tomb	2.27 to tomb base; 0.71 from SE corner of tomb
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	S2
Location	7 th <i>cippus</i> from road in front of PV4
Shape	Rough on all sides; tapers to narrow point on top.

(Continued)

Dimensions	Height: 0.76 Width: 0.21 Depth: 0.09–0.29
Relationship to Tomb	2.36 to tomb base; 0.59 in from NE corner of tomb
Length of Boundary	
S1–S2	1.02
Total	1.84
Relative Tomb Face	2.10

Comments

Area around PV4 somewhat unclear: other *cippi* in necropolis more symmetrically aligned with tomb dimensions in comparison.

Tomb

Unknown Area**Description of *Cippi***

ID	PV1.1
Location	8th <i>cippus</i> from road
Shape	Rough and irregular in shape; narrow square top; no clear face
Dimensions	Height: 0.92 Width: 0.24 Depth: 0.31
Relationship to Tomb	n/a

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PV1.2
Location	9 th <i>cippus</i> from road
Shape	Rough at bottom with large piece missing at base; rounded back; slightly smoothed face
Dimensions	Height: 1.08 Width: 0.37 Depth: 0.31
Relationship to Tomb	n/a

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PV1.3
Location	10 th <i>cippus</i> from road
Shape	Rough shape with slightly squared top; considerably shorter than others; possibly not fully excavated
Dimensions	Height: 0.75 Width: 0.33 Depth: 0.30
Relationship to Tomb	n/a

Length of Boundary

PV1.1–PV1.2	1.42
PV1.2–PV1.3	1.39
Total	4.35
Relative Tomb Face	n/a

Comments

No monument here but area appears to be marked out awaiting construction.

Tomb**PNc7 unknown****Description of *Cippi***

ID	PNc7.1
Location	SW corner of tomb
Shape	Bottom tapers as if broken on east side, slants away from tomb slightly at top; smooth face.
Dimensions	Height: 0.66 Width: 0.16–0.26 Depth: 0.10–0.22
Relationship to Tomb	0.28 (bottom)–0.38 (top) from tomb façade; 0.14 to west of SW corner

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc7.2
Location	middle of tomb façade
Shape	Triangular in shape at rear; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.55 Width: 0.32 Depth: 0.03–0.30
Relationship to Tomb	0.26 from tomb façade

Length of Boundary

PNc7.1–PNc7.2	1.62
Total	3.3
Relative Tomb Face	3.57

Comments

Third *cippus* likely once located at SE corner removed when PNc8 constructed

Tomb**PNc17 unknown****Description of *Cippi***

ID	PNc17.1
Location	1 st <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Smallest of <i>cippi</i> in area; slightly out of alignment with others; very worn/damaged on face
Dimensions	Height: 0.30

(Continued)

	Width: 0.32
	Depth: 0.20
Relationship to Tomb	n/a
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.2
Location	2 nd <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Tall and narrow; rough and pitted on all sides
Dimensions	Height: 0.62
	Width: 0.29
	Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	n/a
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.3
Location	3 rd <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Narrow and tall; slightly rounded at top; rough face
Dimensions	Height: 0.51
	Width: 0.27
	Depth: 0.20
Relationship to Tomb	n/a
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.4
Location	4 th <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Narrow, tall stone; rough on all sides; slopes on top from east to west
Dimensions	Height: 0.57
	Width: 0.18–0.24
	Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	n/a
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.5
Location	5 th <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Smooth face but juts out slightly on east towards top, making face slightly curved; top angles upwards to east; rear rough
Dimensions	Height: 0.41–0.48
	Width: 0.41
	Depth: 0.15 (bottom)–0.27 (top)
Relationship to Tomb	0.41 from remnants of foundation
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.6
Location	6 th <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Rounded top tapers considerably on west side; smooth face but rough and uneven overall

Dimensions	Height: 0.52 Width: 0.27 Depth: 0.21
Relationship to Tomb	0.70 from remnants of foundation
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.7
Location	7 th <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Triangular top; inscription on rear no longer visible (see Appendix 1)
Dimensions	Height: 0.37 (apex)–0.25 Width: 0.24 Depth: 0.17
Relationship to Tomb	0.74 from remnants of foundation
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	PNc17.8
Location	6 th <i>cippus</i> from east
Shape	Round at bottom, tapering upwards; rough overall, no smooth face; somewhat pitted surface
Dimensions	Height: 0.53 Width: 0.23 Depth: 0.36
Relationship to Tomb	0.64 from remnants of foundation
Length of Boundary	
PNc17.1–17.2	0.48
PNc17.2–17.3	0.45
PNc17.3–17.4	0.45
PNc17.4–17.5	0.48
PNc17.5–17.6	0.73
PNc17.6–17.7	0.70
PNc17.7–17.8	0.36
Total	6.12
Relative Tomb Face	n/a

Comments

As both PNc17 and PNc18 were severely damaged in antiquity, it is difficult to determine if these *cippi* were related to one of these tombs, or marked an entirely separate area. PNc17.5–8 do seem to correlate to traces of a foundation just to the north of the line of stones, to which they are probably associated. These four *cippi* mark an area 3.07 in length, and the foundations measure approximately 3.10.

Tomb

PNc35 unknown

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc35.1
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(Continued)

Location	SE corner of tomb
Shape	Tall, rectangular; smooth face pointing east; some attempt to straighten sides; rear left rough
Dimensions	Height: 1.12 Width: 0.45 Depth: 0.25–0.36
Relationship to Tomb	0.47 from façade; 0.40 south of tomb but level with later fill, possibly blocking access to rear of tomb

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc35.2
Location	Middle of east side of tomb
Shape	Tall, rectangular; smooth face pointing east; some attempt to straighten sides; rear left rough
Dimensions	Height: 1.17 Width: 0.41 Depth: 0.24–0.33
Relationship to Tomb	0.45 from façade

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc35.3
Location	NE corner of tomb
Shape	Tall, rectangular; smooth face pointing east; some attempt to straighten sides; rear left rough
Dimensions	Height: 1.37 Width: 0.47 Depth: 0.20–0.34
Relationship to Tomb	0.60 from façade; 0.32 from NE corner

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc35.4
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	Tall, rectangular; smooth face pointing east; some attempt to straighten sides; rear left rough
Dimensions	Height: 1.46 Width: 0.40 Depth: 0.25–0.39
Relationship to Tomb	0.68 to façade; projects 0.20 to west of tomb; 1.05 to NW corner of PNc35 and to NE corner of PNc37

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc35.5
Location	Close to SW corner of PNc37
Shape	Tall, rectangular; smooth face pointing east; some attempt to straighten sides; rear left rough and angular with slightly different shape from others
Dimensions	Height: 1.41

	Width: 0.42
	Depth: 0.18–0.38
Relationship to Tomb	0.44 from façade of PNc37; 0.25 to east of SW corner of PNc37

Length of Boundary

PNc35.1–35.2	0.78
PNc35.2–35.3	2.40
Total	5.58
Relative Tomb Face	4.31
PNc35.4–35.5	5.78
Total	6.58
Relative Tomb Face	5.75

Comments

Oddity of alignment of PNc35.5 suggests the area where PNc37 is situated was once attached to PNc35 and was transferred for use as a new tomb subsequently.

Tomb

PNc40 Eumachia**Description of *Cippi***

ID	E1
Location	NE corner of tomb, at angle
Shape	Rounded top; straight sides; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.52
	Width: 0.43
	Depth: 0.30

Relationship to Tomb	0.05 from corner of tomb
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Description of *Cippi*

ID	E2
Location	2 nd <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face; appears to be buried deeper than the rest
Dimensions	Height: 0.31
	Width: 0.59
	Depth: 0.36

Relationship to Tomb	0.12 from façade
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Description of *Cippi*

ID	E3
Location	3 rd <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.54
	Width: 0.39
	Depth: 0.29

(Continued)

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Relationship to Tomb	0.18 from façade
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	E4
Location	4 th <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.55
	Width: 0.42
	Depth: 0.22
Relationship to Tomb	0.28 from façade
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	E5
Location	5 th <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb; east side of tomb door
Shape	Slightly rounded top coming to point on east side; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.54
	Width: 0.45
	Depth: 0.31
Relationship to Tomb	0.16 from façade; 0.51 to east of door
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	E6
Location	6 th <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb; west side of tomb door
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.55
	Width: 0.45
	Depth: 0.28
Relationship to Tomb	0.19 from façade; 0.36 from west side of door
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	E7
Location	7 th <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.55
	Width: 0.45
	Depth: 0.31
Relationship to Tomb	0.15 from façade
Description of <i>Cippi</i>	
ID	E8
Location	8 th <i>cippus</i> from NE corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.50
	Width: 0.36
	Depth: 0.24
Relationship to Tomb	0.18 from façade

Description of *Cippi*

ID	E9
Location	NW corner of tomb
Shape	Slightly rounded top; straight sides and back; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.52 Width: 0.44 Depth: 0.24
Relationship to Tomb	0.19 from façade; 0.14 from NW corner of tomb

Length of Boundary

E1–E2	2.54
E2–E3	1.25
E3–E4	1.60
E4–E5	1.71
E5–E6	1.55
E6–E7	1.30
E7–E8	1.22
E8–E9	0.70
Total	15.08
Relative Tomb Face	13.90

Comments

E2 through E9 all very similar in shape and size, as if chosen specifically to appear uniform. E1 sits at odd angle on corner of tomb and does not resemble the shape of the rest of the *cippi*; it is unclear if it is not associated or a later addition if first eight stones were not spaced correctly.

Tomb

Northwest side of road, Porta di Nocera necropolis

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc1.1
Location	1 st <i>cippus</i> from east, NW side of road
Shape	Roughly rectangular; flat face but not smooth
Dimensions	Height: 0.57 Width: 0.38

Depth: 0.19

Relationship to Tomb n/a

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc1.2
Location	2 nd <i>cippus</i> from east, NW side of road
Shape	Roughly rectangular; flat face but not smooth; chisel marks visible on face.
Dimensions	Height: 0.49 Width: 0.35 Depth: 0.14

(Continued)

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Relationship to Tomb	n/a
Length of Boundary	
PNc1.1–1.2	2.94
Total	3.64
Relative Tomb Face	n/a
Comments	
May have demarcated an area not yet used for tomb construction	

Tomb

PNc58 unknown

Description of *Cippi*

ID	PNc58.1
Location	SW corner of PNc57
Shape	Small, roughly square block; slight point at top of NE corner; smooth face
Dimensions	Height: 0.25 Width: 0.12 Depth: 0.19
Relationship to Tomb	0.14 from façade; 0.15 inside corner of tomb
Length of Boundary	
	n/a
Total	n/a
Relative Tomb Face	3.51
Comments	

Tomb

PNc61 Gaius Veranius Rufus

Description of *Cippi*

ID	CVR1
Location	SW corner of tomb
Shape	Roughly rectangular; top slopes up to point on east side; fairly smooth face.
Dimensions	Height: 0.35–0.29 (embedded in sloping ground) Width: 0.27 Depth: 0.14

Relationship to Tomb 0.30 from façade; projects 0.16 to west of corner

Length of Boundary

NA1 n/a

Total n/a

Relative Tomb Face 6.50

Comments

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Appendix 3

Additional Funerary Inscriptions

There are a number of inscriptions found in a variety of locations around Pompeii that have been documented that were not found in association with a built monument. Some may have been at one time, but the context is lost (as is, in some cases, the exact find spot), thus negating any chance of identifying typology, spatial arrangement, or date. In the interest of completeness, the available information is included here.

PORTA DI MARINA

Sixteen inscribed *columellae* were excavated in the area outside the Porta di Marina in the middle of the eighteenth century (1754–1756) and immediately removed to the museum in Naples. The *CIL* identified those found in the same area together, and they are grouped as such here. Emmerson (2009: 77–81), following eighteenth and nineteenth excavation reports, suggests most of these should be located beyond the Porta di Stabia, not taking into account the find spots included in the *CIL*. In all likelihood, the majority of these were found somewhere between the Porta di Marina and the Porta di Stabia, but exact locations are no longer discernable.

Group 1

CIL X 1047 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
M(arcus) Afillius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Primogenes vixit / annos XX.
Marcus Afillius Primogenes, freedman of Marcus, lived twenty years.

CIL X 1050 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
C(aius) Cornelius / Lotus vix(it) / annis L.
Gaius Cornelius Lotus lived fifty years.

CIL X 1052 (cf. p. 967), marble
Cor[neli - -]
Cornelius/a

CIL X 1053 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
Daphine vix(it) / annis XXII.
 Daphine lived twenty-two years.

CIL X 1054 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
Mescinae (mulieris) l(iberta) / Veneriae.
 Mescinia Veneria, freedwoman of a woman.

CIL X 1055 (cf. p. 967) marble *columella*
C(aius) Novellius / Natalis mag(ister) Aug(usti).
 Gaius Novellius Natalis, magister of (the pagus) Augustus.

CIL X 1056 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
N(- - -) V(- - -) P(- - -)

CIL X 1058 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
Primigenius / v(ixit) an(nos) VII.
 Primigenius lived seven years.

CIL X 1059 (cf. p. 967), marble
Saturninus / vix(it) an(no) uno m(ensibus) VII.
 Saturninus lived one year, seven months.

CIL X 1060 (cf. p. 967), travertine *columella*
Sornia / Secunda.
 Sornia Secunda.

CIL X 1062 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*
Tettia / Prepusa / v(ixit) an(nos) XX.
 Tettia Prepusa lived twenty years.

Group 2

CIL X 1048 (cf. p. 967), marble
M(arci) Caledi / M(arci) l(iberti) Antiochi / Audia L(uci) l(iberta) Statia /
M(arcus) Caledius M(arci) l(iberti) / Libo.
 To Marcus Caledius Antiochus, freedman of Marcus, Audia Statia, freed-
 woman of Lucius, and Marcus Caledius Libo, freedman of Marcus.

CIL X 1049 (cf. p. 967) = I² 1638 (cf. p. 1014), marble
Q(uintus) Cornelius Q(uinti) P(ubli) l(ibertus) / Diphilus Cornelia
Q(uinti) l(iberta) / Heraes heic cubant et / hoc liberteis meis et / lib-
ertabus locum concess(um) / et meis omnibus.
 Quintus Cornelius Diphilus, freedman of Quintus and Publius, Cornelia
 Heraes, freedwoman of Quintus lie here and this place is given to my
 freedmen and freedwomen and all of mine.

CIL X 1051 (cf. p. 967), marble

P(ublio) Cornelio / Potito Corneliae / Quintae || P(ublio) Terentio / Primo / Vinulliae / Maximae || Sibi et suis.

To Publius Cornelius Potitus, to Cornelia Quinta, to Publius Terentius Primus, to Vinullia Maxima. For themselves and theirs.

CIL X 1061 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*

Terentia / Prisca / v(ixit) a(nnos) X.

Terentia Prisca lived ten years.

Group 3

CIL X 1057 (cf. p. 967), travertine (found 1766)

L(- - -) P(- - -) P(- - -)

PORTA DI NOLA

Four *columellae* were found in a line on the south-west side of the road, a few metres from the city wall farther west than tomb PN1. One of the inscriptions, of a young person, is incomplete, but the other three have been identified as Praetorians.

De Caro 1979: I

L(ucius) Betutius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Oufen(tina) / Niger mil(es) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae), / vix(it) ann(os) XX, / mil(itavit) ann(os) II.

Lucius Betutius Niger, son of Quintus, member of the Oufentinian tribe, soldier in the second praetorian cohort, lived twenty years, served in the military two years.

De Caro 1979: II

Annos XI.

Eleven years.

De Caro 1979: III

L(ucius) Manilius / Quarti f(ilius) Rom(ilia) / Saturninus / dom(o) Ateste, / spec(ulator), mil(itavit) ann(os) V, / vix(it) ann(os) XXIV. / Frater posuit.

Lucius Manilius Saturninus, son of Quartus, member of the Romilian tribe, from Ateste, *speculator*, served in the military for five years, lived for twenty-four years. His brother set this up.

De Caro 1979: IV

Sex(tus) Caesernius / Sp(uri) f(ilius), Vel(in)a, Montanus, / Aquileia, specul(ator), / mil(itavit) an(nos) XI, h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Sextus Caesernius Montanus, son of Spurius, member of the Velinan tribe, from Aquileia, *speculator*, served in the military for nine years. Here he lies.

BETWEEN PORTA DI NOLA AND PORTA DI SARNO

In the mid-nineteenth century a group of poor burials were discovered along the wall outside of Porta di Nola, consisting of thirty-eight amphorae buried in the earth. The majority of the graves were not marked, though it was discovered in some places that the names of the deceased had been scratched into the city wall. A small number of burials were marked by *columellae*.

CIL X 8349 = CIL IV 2495

Alleia / Calaes / Al(leia) Nu(m)phe

Alleia Calaes and Alleia Numphe.

CIL X 8350 = CIL IV 2494

C(aius) Cosidius

Gaius Cosidius.

CIL X 8351 = CIL IV 2501

A(ulus) Festiu[s] / locu[s]

Aulus Festius. This place.

CIL X 8352 = CIL IV 2499

A S / A Festi F

CIL X 8353 = IV 2502

Pausia Iulia.

Pausia (Fausta?) Julia.

CIL X 8354 = CIL IV 2497

LOIIA

Loiia or Loea or Lolla or Lol(l)ia

CIL X 8355 = CIL IV 2498 found with 8354

Λόλλια Χηλειδών

Lollia Chel(e)idon.

*CIL X 8356 = CIL IV 2550.6 (next to a crude drawing of a *columella*)*
NA

CIL X 8357 = CIL IV 2498

Protus.

Protus.

CIL X 8358 = CIL IV 2496

C(ai?) Venni.

CIL X 8359 = CIL IV 2550.7
XAI

CIL X 8360 = CIL IV 2550.8
Cai[- - -?]

CIL X 8361 = CIL IV 2550.5
LP

PORTA DI SARNO AND EAST OF THE AMPHITHEATRE

Excavations carried out in 1999 as part of the expansion of the Circumvesuviana revealed a collection of more than eighty graves, ranging from urns containing cremated remains often marked with a lava *columella* to simple holes. Four marble *columellae* were also recovered, one of which bore the inscription:

Curtia Phyle v(ixit) a(nnis) XXX.
Curtia Phyle lived for 30 years.

Further excavation revealed three Samnite graves dating from the mid-fourth to early third centuries BC.

Subsequently some exploration was done beyond the Porta di Sarno, where a funerary monument consisting of a large podium with no surviving superstructure or inscription was discovered. One *columella* marking an urn was found at the base of the rear of the podium. The tomb is surrounded by a wall of *opus incertum*, and root cavities suggest trees, likely cypress, were planted between the wall and the tomb.

A few meters south-east of the tomb, there are two pillars of *opus incertum*, on the top of which was stuck a marble slab with inscriptions, one illegible, the other contained the text:

L(ucius) Mettius M(arci) f(ilius) Poll(a tribu) / Martialis Carr(?) / specul(ator) mil(itavit) an(nos) X vix(it) an(nos) XXX.

Lucius Mettius Martialis, son of Marcus, member of the Pollan tribe, from Carre, speculator, served in the military for ten years, lived for thirty years.

PORTA DI STABIA

CIL X 1065
[C]n(aeo) Clovatio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Ilv(iro) i(iure) d(icundo) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) loc[us sepulturae?]

To Gnaeus Clovatus, son of Gnaeus, duovir with judicial power, military tribune, place [of the tomb?]

Uncertain locations

CIL X 1074 (cf. p. 967), unknown material

A. *Clodia A(uli) f(ilia) / sacerdos / publica / Cereris d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.
Clodia, daughter of Aulus, public priestess of Ceres, by decree of the decurions.

B. *Lassia Marc(i) f(ilia) / sacerdos / publica / Cereris d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

Lassia, daughter of Marcus, public priestess of Ceres, by decree of the decurions.

C. *A(ulus) Clodius / Marc(i) f(ilius) Pal(atina) scribe / magist(er) pag(i) Aug(usti) / fel(icis) sub(urbani)*

Aulus Clodius, son of Marcus, member of the Palatine tribe, scribe, magistrate of the pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus.

D. *A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius) / Men(enia) Flaccus IIvir i(ure) d(icundo) ter quinq(uennalis) / trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo / primo duomviratu Apollinarib(us) in foro pompam / tauros taurocentas succursores pontarios / paria III pugiles catervarios et pyctas ludos / omnibus acruamatis pantomimisq(ue) omnibus et / pylade et HS n(ummos) X(milia) in publicum pro duomviratu / secundo duomviratu quinq(uennalis) Apollinaribus in foro / pompam tauros taurarios succursores pugiles / catervarios poster(o) die solus in spectaculis athletas / par(ia) XXX glad(iatorum) par(ia) V et gladiat(orum) par(ia) XXXV et / venation(es) tauros taurocentas apros ursos / cetera venatione varia cum collega / tertio duomviratu ludos factione prima / adiectis acruamatis cum collega // Clodia A(uli) f(ilia) hoc monumentum sua impensa / sibi et suis*

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus of the Menenian tribe, duovir with judicial powers three times, quinquennalis, military tribune by the people. In his first duovirate, at the games of Apollo in the forum he gave a procession of bulls, bullfighters, and their assistants, three pairs of fighters, and boxers in a group. He also gave plays with every musical entertainment and pantomimies with Pylades, and he gave ten thousand sesterces to the public coffers.

In his second duovirate, his quinquennial, for the games of Apollo in the forum he gave a procession of bulls, bullfighters, and their assistants, and group boxers. The following day in the amphitheatre, he alone gave thirty pairs of athletes and five pairs of gladiators, and together with his colleague, he provided thirty-five pairs of gladiators and a hunt with bulls, bullfighters, boars, bears and other hunting variations.

In his third duovirate, he gave, with his colleague, a production by a foremost troupe, with musical entertainment.

Clodia, daughter of Aulus, had this monument made at her own expense for herself and hers.

E. *L(ucius) Cellius L(uci) f(ilius) / Men(enia) / Calvos Decurio / Pompeis*.
Lucius Cellius Calvus, son of Lucius, member of the Menenian tribe, decurion at Pompeii.

CIL X 1075 (cf. p. 967), unknown material

[-] Vibius M(arci) f(ilius) / Men(enia) Coeianus / Nucerinus / IIIIvir / ex testamento / Vibiae M(arci) f(iliae) / Tertiae.

[?] Vibius Coeianus, son of Marcus, member of the Menenian tribe, from Nuceria, quattuorvir, by her will, for Vibia Tertia, daughter of Marcus.

CIL X 1076 (cf. p. 967), marble, found in the House of the Lyre Player (I.iv.25)

Nardus / Liviae l(ibertus).

Nardus, freedman of Livia.

CIL X 1077 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*

Primigenia / v(ixit) a(nnos) XVI m(enses) / III.

Primigenia lived sixteen years, three months.

CIL X 1078 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella* found in the house of A. Octavius Primus (VII.xv.3)

Traebia Fortunata / vixit annis XXIX.

Traebia Fortunata lived twenty-nine years.

CIL X 1079 (cf. p. 967), marble *columella*

L(ucius) Vottonius L(uci) f(ilius) Col(lina) / Saturni/nus Drips(inas) / vixit ann(os) / XXVI mil(itavit) ann(os) / V t(estamento or -um) p(oni) i(ussit).

Lucius Vottonius Saturninus, son of Lucius, member of Collinian tribe, from Dripsinum, lived twenty-six years, served in the military for five years, put up as required by his will.

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